

# De Larsa à Mari (II) : nouvelles incantations paléo-babyloniennes

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**Abstract.** *This paper presents two unpublished tablets that probably come from the kingdom of Larsa. These Akkadian incantations share a common theme: scorpion bite. One of them offers a variation on the well-documented formula of “(The Moon god) Sin’s little finger,” which was bitten. The other is more creative and lyrical; it connects the scorpion’s attack to a brick wall, its habitat, which is itself cursed.*

## 2. Formules contre la piqure du scorpion (Larsa)

La terreur et l’intérêt suscités par le scorpion, ce petit animal à la forme si étrange, inquiétante et au comportement belliqueux ont beaucoup inspiré les scripteurs antiques. Le thème du scorpion et de sa douloureuse et parfois mortelle piqure, est bien représenté dans le corpus magique d’époque paléo-babylonienne<sup>1</sup>, notamment dans le sud de la Mésopotamie<sup>2</sup>. C’est la poésie de ces charmes qui frappe surtout le lecteur moderne, ce d’autant plus que leur contexte historique précis est le plus souvent inconnu.

Au corpus existant, il faut désormais ajouter deux nouvelles petites incantations assez typiques de la production scribale du deuxième millénaire. CUNES 49 – 02 – 218 et CUNES 49 – 03 – 357<sup>3</sup> ont

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Sources of Early Akkadian Literature* (SEAL) projet de M. Streck et N. Waserman : <https://seal.huji.ac.il/>.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. les remarques de J. van Dijk, A. Goetze et M. I. Hussey, *Early Mesopotamian Incantations and Rituals*, YOS XI, 1985, p. 2-3.

<sup>3</sup> Les belles photographies jointes à cet article ont été réalisées par les membres de l’équipe de D. Owen à l’Université de Cornell. En outre j’ai ajouté des

comme point commun évident de traiter de la piqure de scorpion, mais elles le font chacune d'une façon complètement différente. Le ductus des tablettes indique qu'elles datent au plus tôt du milieu de l'époque paléo-babylonienne. Elles ont été découvertes en 2014 parmi les documents irakiens conservés temporairement à l'Université de Cornell<sup>4</sup>.

La première d'entre elles, CUNES 49 – 02 – 218, est composée de 28 lignes, adopte un ton emporté et parfois obscur<sup>5</sup>. De ce fait, il est difficile d'apprécier jusqu'à quel point il est possible d'en rationaliser le propos. Le texte passe d'une personne à l'autre sans identifier aucune. Des « récitants » (anonymes, l'exorciste et son patient ou l'exorciste et ses aides ?) s'adressent, à la première personne, directement à la bête, l'ennemi, la cause du problème, puis un peu plus loin, brusquement, c'est une voix seule (celle de l'enchanteur ?) qui exprime son intention de jeter un sort sur l'animal. Ensuite, une voix seule encore, mais plutôt celle du patient, se tourne vers quelqu'un d'autre, l'interpelle pour qu'il se rallie à sa cause. Le Scorpion lui-même passe à l'arrière-plan après le premier tiers du texte.

Après avoir décrit le scorpion, dans un style épique propre à cette veine littéraire non sans reprendre des lieux communs comme la mention de la queue levée du scorpion, en position d'attaque ou de défense<sup>6</sup>, très vite l'usage d'une « incantation de mort » met hors de nuire l'animal et peut-être les l. 7-11 traitent-elles de sa capture par le biais de l'incantation en question et le dénigrent même puisque sa description est cette fois moins

planches de dessins : le cunéiforme étant normalisé, elles ont surtout une fonction didactique.

<sup>4</sup> Je renouvelle mes remerciements à D. Owen, J.-M. Durand et D. Charpin qui à des titres divers m'ont permis d'accomplir ce travail ; cf. M. Guichard, « De Larsa à Mari (I) : nouvelles incantations paléo-babyloniennes », *Semitica* 61, 2019, p. 6 n. 3.

<sup>5</sup> Je tiens ici à remercier J.-M. Durand pour les remarques dont il m'a fait part avec son habituelle sagacité concernant notamment les difficultés du début du premier document, lesquelles m'ont amené à revoir plusieurs fois ma copie. J'assume cela va de soi tous les défauts de mon édition n'ayant sûrement pas dit le dernier mot.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. également ci-dessous CUNES 49 – 03 – 357 : 10-11.

flatteuse. Cependant tout danger n'est pas écarté, le venin n'est pas encore éliminé.

On se tourne alors vers une entité supérieure qui n'est jamais identifiée. Il s'agit d'une divinité puisque celle-ci doit agir comme un dieu personnel. De plus, elle devient plurielle dans les dernières lignes. Vers la fin du texte, en effet, des dieux cette fois sont invoqués : ce sont certainement les spécialistes de l'exorcisme et de la purification. Si on relie ce thème à l'idée contenue dans CUNES 49 – 03 – 357 (ci-dessous) que la victime potentielle du scorpion est la personne privée de sa protection divine habituelle, on en déduira que le « patient » de CUNES 49 – 02 – 218 était lui-même en délicatesse avec sa propre assurance divine. C'est donc d'une façon voilée que l'incantation nous apprend que son dieu est potentiellement irrité car il est prié de ne pas ou de ne plus hurler comme le petit enfant.

Désormais l'action tourne au procès. L'incantation (*tûm*) (c'est-à-dire le texte lui-même, effet d'abîme ?) va permettre de bloquer comme un verrou le malin et faire triompher l'innocent, car comme le veut ce système de pensée, l'attaque est vécue par la victime comme une injustice. L'épisode ne saurait bien évidemment être interprété comme un événement naturel fortuit. Le scorpion ou son poison incarne un ennemi, lequel est accusé de fraude et de falsification comme si le mal avait inventé une raison pour justifier ses agissements.

Vers la fin du texte, une imprécation est lancée contre un mur et ses briques. Ils remplacent le scorpion dans le rôle d'agents du mal. Or, le milieu de vie des scorpions le plus caractéristique dans la littérature magique est précisément le mur des maisons ou ses fondations (cf. l'incantation suivante) d'où l'identification faite entre le scorpion et la maçonnerie ce qui conduit à la culpabilisation de cette dernière et en particulier des briques. Le scorpion a pu s'échapper ou peut-être même ne l'a-t-on même pas vu surgir. L'allusion du début à sa neutralisation pourrait être purement imaginaire. Quoi qu'il en soit, le mur désormais anthropomorphisé, en abritant le petit démon, était de fait son complice.

Finalement, le mal inoculé, qui est désigné par le terme de *mar-tum* « bile », dont le sens de « poison » *imtum* est attesté par la série

lexicale *Malku* = *šarru* (VIII 124)<sup>7</sup>, est à son tour traité comme un acteur animé en tant que tel. Mais celui-ci a perdu la manche et doit quitter le corps du malade.

Remarquons que si le « récitant » a tendance à anthropomorphiser animaux et choses, lui-même se réifie *a contrario* face à la divinité quand il espère lui paraître aussi délectable que le sont les ingrédients de cuisine qui donnent du goût aux plats<sup>8</sup> !

Ainsi l'incantation, préjugant de la qualité de son style et de son efficacité, dépeint les différents stades d'une thérapie visant à soigner une douleur attribuée au scorpion depuis le moment de son agression jusqu'à la guérison, soit les étapes suivantes : l'identification du mal ou son évocation, sa neutralisation, l'appel à l'aide divine, le procès, l'imprécation contre le mal et son expulsion. Il n'est cela dit question que de la partie exorcistique de la procédure, vécue subjectivement par un sujet dont l'identité est floue. Tantôt on peut avoir l'impression que c'est la victime qui s'exprime, tantôt plutôt le praticien, l'exorciste en personne. Au début du texte, le sujet dit « nous » comme si patient et exorciste parlaient d'une seule voix.

Logorrhée ou poésie, l'incantation rend trépidante la lutte entre l'incantateur / patient et un puissant mal, violent et foudroyant.

La référence à l'« incantation de mort », c'est-à-dire celle dont l'effet est fatal pour ceux qu'elle vise<sup>9</sup>, aussi efficace sur le serpent que le scorpion, laisse entrevoir la perméabilité entre les genres d'incantations. Ce n'est donc pas un hasard si l'énigmatique formule des 6 bouches et 7 langues (l. 21), se référant peut-être au

<sup>7</sup> CAD M/1 martu A, p. 297 et I. Hrůša, *Die akkadische Synonymenliste malku = šarru. Eine Textedition mit übersetzung und Kommentar*, AOAT 50, Münster, Ugarit-Verlag, 2010, p. 144-145.

<sup>8</sup> Une image qui n'est pas inconnue ailleurs à Mari où l'on sait qu'un chef de pâture a pu présenter les Bédouins comme étant le sel de table du roi de Mari (communication que je dois à J.-M. Durand que je remercie).

<sup>9</sup> L'incantation de Mari, *Taureau des Enfers I*, traite celle-ci de manière opposée en rapport avec la « vie de l'homme » ; cf. M. Guichard, « Incantations à Mari », J.-M. Durand & A. Jacquet éd., *Divination et magie dans les cultures du Proche-Orient* (Actes du colloque organisé par l'institut du Proche Orient ancien du Collège de France, la société asiatique et le CNRS [UMR 7192] les 19-20 juin 2008 – Collège de France), *CIPOA* 3, 2010, p. 23-40, en particulier p. 29.

scorpion ou au mur, ce qui revient au même, trouverait plutôt sa place dans la catégorie des incantations contre les morsures de serpents. Car, en réalité ce motif représente la figure fantastique du serpent *Bašmu* dont une incantation nous apprend qu'il avait 6 bouches et 7 langues<sup>10</sup>. D'autres rapprochements devraient permettre d'éclairer telle ou telle expression. Ainsi le sens de la comparaison de la voix du dieu (personnel ?) avec celle du nourrisson est plus explicite dans l'incantation du *Piṭirtum*<sup>11</sup> : « Pourquoi ton cri de victoire est-il aussi mauvais que (celui) du tout petit (*kīma šehrim la'īm*) ? » On remarquera les effets sonores que cherche à rendre l'incantation notamment dans deux situations inattendues : d'une part, quand le scorpion est comparé à un « lion rugissant » comme si dans son angoisse le patient croyait entendre l'arthropode rugir ; d'autre part, quand il s'agit de calmer le dieu qui pourrait lui répondre par des cris de rage.

## CUNES 49 – 02 – 218

- 'e-da' 'qá'-ar-na-'ka' ki-ma ú-ri-ši  
 2 ki-ma né-ši-im ša-gi-mi-im  
 ta-ri-at zi-ib-ba-at-ka  
 4 e-ez pí-ka ú° šu-'uš'-ga-al-'la'<sup>1</sup>  
 i-na ši-ip-tim muš ni-ša-ba-at  
 6 ù za-qí-qí-ba-am ši-pa-at mu-tim  
 ni-im-mé-li-<sup>2</sup>la-aš-šu i-na qá-ti-ni  
 8 šu-hu-uṭ qá-ar-ni li-'iš'-ku-u[n]  
 qá-qá-ar-šu re<sup>1</sup> (HU)-bi-it zi-ba-at / i-iš  
 10 a-na bi-ri-it ha-al-li-ka  
 a-na-ku lu-ta-wu-ú  
 12 a-na-ku lu-ud-bu-ub at-ta  
 ki-ma ì-lí ia-ti  
 T. 14 du-ug-la-an-ni  
 R. ki-ma še-eh-ri la-'i-im  
 16 e tu-te-ra a-wa-at-ka  
 ki-ma ṭa-ab-tim ù ka-sí-im

<sup>10</sup> ša ba-aš-mi ši-ši-it pí-šu si-bi-it li-ša-nu-šu « propre au serpent *bašmu*, ses 6 bouches, ses langues » (TIM 9 66 // 66 ; SEAL no. 7181 : 9).

<sup>11</sup> am-mi-ni ki-ma še-eh-ri-im la-'i-im er-ni-it-ta-ka le-em-ne-et ; Cl. Wilcke, « Liebeschwörungen aus », ZA 75, 1985, p. 188-203 ; SEAL no. 7147 : 54.

- 18 *e-li mu-uš-te-mi-ia*  
*lu ʔa-ba-a-ʔku<sup>1</sup> si-ku-ur a-wa-tum*
- 20 *di-nu-um tú-ú-um*  
*6 pu-šu 7<sup>1</sup> li-ša-nu-šu*
- 22 *li-im-qú-ut du-ru*  
*li-iš-ta-li-pa*
- 24 *li-ib-na-tu-šu-ú°*  
*le-qé-ni-im ma-ar-ta*
- 26 *ši-we e-we-ti-šu-nu*  
*ta-ma-si ší-i*
- 28 *ša a-na i-di-ia at-pa-lu-ú*  
*te-ni-in-nu-ri*

<sup>1</sup> Pointues sont tes cornes tel un bouc. <sup>2</sup> Tel un lion rugissant, <sup>3</sup> ta queue est dressée. <sup>4</sup> Enragée est ta bouche *et <tu as> un filet*. <sup>5</sup> Avec l'incantation nous pouvons attraper le serpent <sup>6</sup> aussi bien que le scorpion. C'est une incantation mortelle<sup>12</sup>.

<sup>7-8</sup> *Nous nous jouons de lui*. Qu'il dépose le tronçon<sup>7</sup> des cornes dans nos mains ! <sup>9</sup> Sa (partie) contre le sol correspond à l'abdomen, la queue est petite.

<sup>10</sup> Au milieu de tes reins, <sup>11</sup> moi je veux émettre une formule ! <sup>12</sup> Je veux (la) dire !

Toi, <sup>13-14</sup> regarde-moi comme (si tu étais) le dieu de ma personne ! <sup>15-16</sup> Ne me rends pas ta parole (odieuse) comme (les cris du) petit nourrisson ! <sup>17-19</sup> Puissé-je être aussi agréable à mon auditeur que le sel et la moutarde !

Le verrou, c'est la formule. <sup>20</sup> Le verdict c'est l'incantation. <sup>21</sup> Par ses six bouches, par ses sept langues, <sup>22</sup> que tombe le mur ! <sup>23-24</sup> Que soient arrachées ses briques ! <sup>25</sup> Prenez le poison (litt. 'la bile') ! <sup>26</sup> Brûlez leurs fraudes ! <sup>27</sup> Tu as été éliminé, disparais !

<sup>28</sup> *De la part de qui porte(nt) assistance à mes côtés.* <sup>29</sup> Incantation.

**l. 4 :** CUSAS 10 19 évoque le « filet sur le front » (*ḡešpar pūtim*) du scorpion.

**l. 6 :** *zaqīqībum* (-ba- pourrait certes être lu -pá-, mais le texte semble pourtant bien distinguer -ba- de -pa- comme le suggèrent *ši-pa-at* ou l. 23 et 28, exemples qui montrent que les graphies sont

<sup>12</sup> litt. « de mort ».

cohérentes) au lieu de *zuqīqīpum* ou *zuqāqīpum* d'après les dictionnaires (CAD, AHW et CDA).

**l. 7-8** : le sens de ces lignes m'étant hermétique, leur interprétation et la traduction proposées ont un caractère parfaitement hypothétique. Si *šuḥṭum*, signifie « colère » dans l'expression *šuḥṭ libbi*<sup>13</sup>, une autre dérivation reste théoriquement possible puisque *šahāṭum* I signifie « attaquer » et *šahāṭum* II « arracher ». Ce dernier pourrait donner à *šuḥṭ qarni* le sens de « cornes tronquées »<sup>14</sup> façon de dire qui serait parallèle à *šerim qarni* « corne découpée ».

**l. 17** : il s'agit de l'assaisonnement favori des Mésopotamiens, CAD K kasû, p. 250.

**l. 18** : *muštemû* ou *muštemmû* non renseigné dans les dictionnaires d'akkadien, ce participe doit dériver de *šemû* « entendre ».

**l. 26** : *ewītu* doit être une variante de *iwītu* « fraude », cf. CAD I/J iwītu, p. 317.

**l. 28** : cette phrase sibylline est éventuellement un codicille indiquant laconiquement (ce qui serait bien dans le style du texte) l'origine divine de l'aide tout comme dans l'incantation CUSAS 32 27c (SEAL no. 7165) qui précise après le souhait de la guérison, que c'est Éa qui a parlé : *Awīlum libluṭ, ʿen-ki bēlī kīam iqbi* « Que l'homme vive ! Éa mon seigneur a parlé ainsi. »

Cette seconde incantation (CUNES 49 – 03 – 357) appartient à un petit groupe dont le motif principal est un épisode mythologique dans lequel le dieu Sîn a été piqué au petit doigt par un scorpion. L'événement tient en une petite phrase formulaire qui varie peu. À partir de cette expression chaque version que nous avons témoigne de la liberté qu'avaient les « auteurs » de broder un texte plus ou moins étendu et imaginatif. CUNES 49 – 03 – 357 se découpe en 4 temps : 1) l'ouverture : des travaux de fondations impliquant la manipulation de briques (le mot-clé étant *amarum* « pile de briques ») ; 2) la formule du petit doigt de Sîn piqué par le scorpion, soit l'incident dont 1) a donné le contexte fictif ; 3) appel à l'aide

<sup>13</sup> CAD Š/3 šuḥṭu, p. 209.

<sup>14</sup> Cf. par exemple l'expression dans un présage de Šumma Izbu XIX 38 : *šumma alpu qaran imittišu ištahat* « Si un bœuf arrache sa corne à droite » (cité par CAD Q qarnu, p. 136a).

adressé à Éa et son fils Asalluhi ; 4) évocation de la menace que représente le scorpion opportuniste et traître. Cette partie est un emprunt au stock des formules incantatoires. On la retrouve dans un texte magique paléo-assyrien qui traite de la menace du chien noir. L'auteur de la présente incantation a forcément puisé à une autre source qui situait le danger, quel qu'il soit, dans un espace ouvert, celui de la route, de l'expédition commerciale ou de la rase campagne comme l'illustre le parallèle de Kaneš (cf. commentaire, ci-dessous). Cela montre qu'il n'était pas très soucieux de cohérence, ni très optimiste vu la chute.

Ajoutons que format de la tablette et écriture sont très similaires à ceux de YOS 11 2 [SEAL no. 7171] supposé provenir de la région de Larsa<sup>15</sup>. Il est possible que les deux œuvres soient de la même main ou de la même école.

CUNES 49 – 03 – 357

- a-ma-ra-ma-an a-ša-ka-na-am*  
 2 *li-bi-ta-ma-an*  
*ú-ši 'it-na-a'-am*  
 4 *ú-ba-an 'dEN'.[ZU] 'ši'-hi-ir-tam*  
*zu-qí-qí-pu-um 'iz-qú'-ut*  
 6 *a-na é-a ù 'sa-lu'-ú[h]*  
*[q]í-bi-a-ma*  
 8 *ú-ba-an [dEN.ZU] ši-hi-ir-tum*  
*li-ib-lu-uṭ*  
 10 *ša-ar sà-ka-pa-šu ta-ri*  
*zi-ba-sú-ú*  
 12 *pa-ri-ik ha-ra-na-am*  
*ú-qá-a e-eṭ-lam ša il-šu*  
 14 *la it-ti-šu*

<sup>1</sup> (Comme si) j'avais dû poser soit une pile de briques, <sup>2</sup> soit une brique, <sup>3</sup> (s'agissant de) remplacer les fondations...

<sup>4-5</sup> Le scorpion a piqué le petit doigt de Sîn. <sup>6-7</sup> Dites-(le) à Éa et (A)salluh. <sup>8-9</sup> [Que le] petit doigt [de Sîn] guérisse<sup>16</sup> !

<sup>15</sup> Cf. J. van Dijk, A. Goetze et M. I. Hussey, *Early Mesopotamian Incantations and Rituals*, YOS XI, 1985, p. 2-3.

<sup>16</sup> Litt. « vive ! »



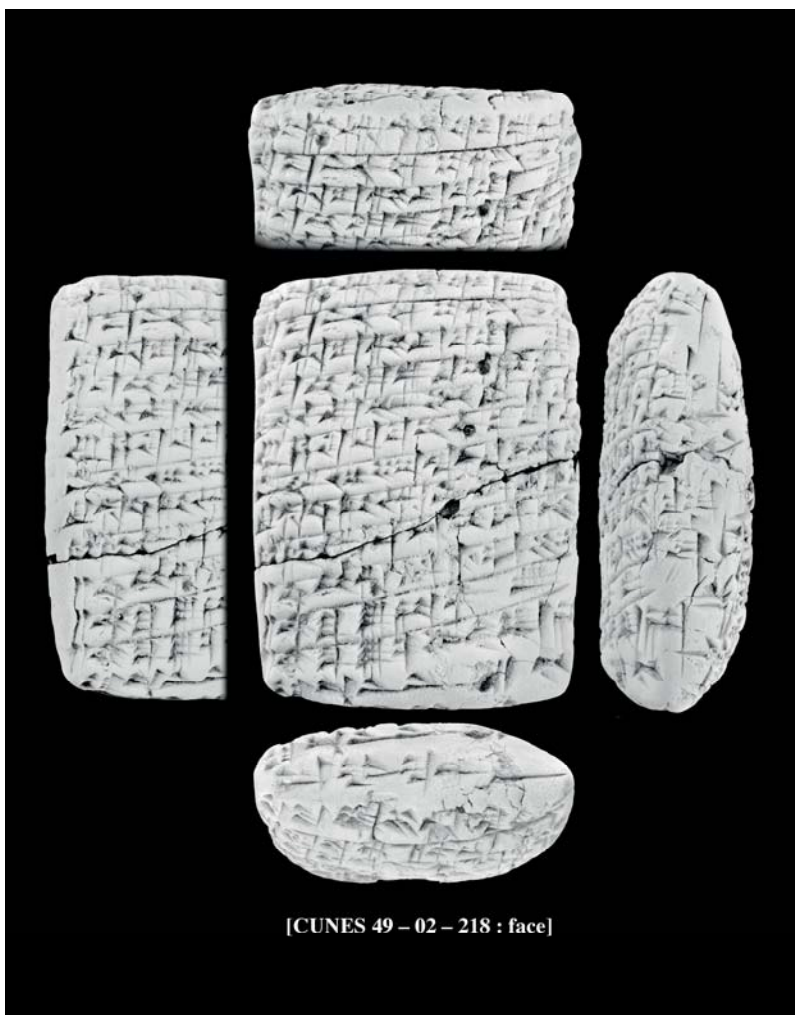
<sup>10-11</sup> Son surgissement est une bourrasque. Il dresse sa queue. <sup>12</sup> Il bloque la route. <sup>13-14</sup> Il attend le jeune homme qui n'a plus son dieu auprès de lui.

**l. 1-3** : ce passage reprend un thème parallèle connu de plusieurs incantations de Larsa : YOS 11 4c (pour laquelle cf. SEAL no. 7173) : *bi-ri-it* <sup>bi</sup>idigna ù *i<sub>7</sub>-lagaš<sup>ki</sup> uš-ši i-na<sup>1</sup> <e>-pé-ši-im a-ma-r<sup>1</sup> i-i-n<sup>1</sup> a<sup>1</sup> šu-ba<sup>1</sup>-al-ku-tim* « Entre le Tigre et le canal de Lagaš, en préparant les fondations, en transférant la pile de briques. » Une autre version est donnée par CUSAS 32 49 (SEAL no. 7166) : l. 13-15 : <sup>d</sup>EN.ZU *bi-it-sú i-pu-uš, [i-na] e-pe-eš bi-ti-šu, [i-na š]u-ba-al-ku-ut a-ma-[ri-im]*... « Šîn construisit sa maison. En construisant sa maison, en transportant la pile de briques... » Le verbe *šubalkutum* « transporter », « transférer » alterne donc avec *itnûm* « intervertir ». Là où les autres versions présentent la situation initiale par le moyen du récit mythologique, la présente lui donne un caractère purement imaginaire ou spéculatif, ce qui est rendu grammaticalement par l'emploi de l'irréel (-*man*). Pour cette particule modale courante dans les textes paléo-babyloniens de tous genres, cf. N. Wasserman, *Most Probably. Epistemic Modality in Old Babylonian*, Languages of Ancient Near East, 2012, p. 119-132. Néanmoins, l'usage de la première personne (le locuteur s'identifierait-il à Šîn ?) entre en tension avec la formule du « petit doigt de Šîn » qui, quant à elle, se distingue par son caractère fixe.

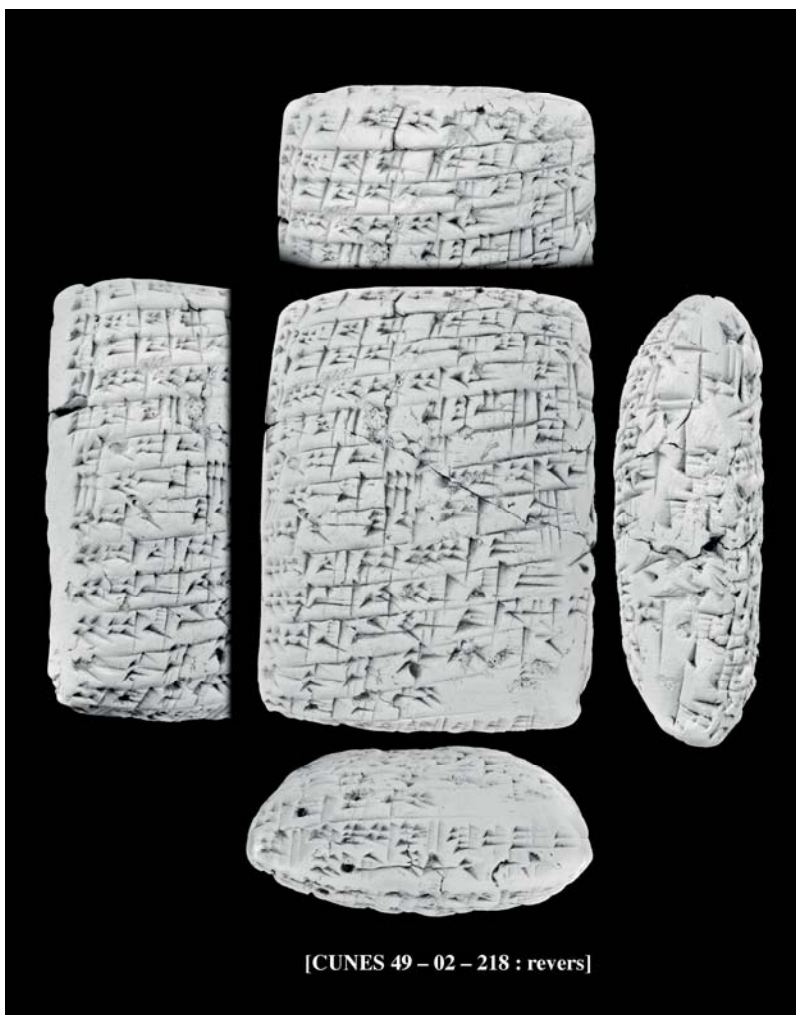
**l. 4-5** : pour cette formule centrale, cf. CUSAS 32 21 : 31' : *ú-ba-an* <sup>d</sup>EN.ZU *tur-ra gir<sub>2</sub>-tab iz-qú-ut* ; YOS 11 4b (cf. SEAL no. 7173) : *ú-ba-an* <sup>d</sup>EN.ZU<sup>1</sup> *[ši-hi-ir-t]am\**, *zu-<sup>1</sup>qí-qí<sup>1</sup>-[pu-um iz-qú-u]t* ; CUSAS 32 49 : 16-17 : *ú-ba-an* <sup>d</sup>su'en *ši-hi-[ir-tam]*, *[li-bi]-tu iz-qú-ut* « La brique a piqué le petit doigt de Šîn ». Ce thème mythologique est analysé en détail par A. George, *Mesopotamian Incantations and Related Texts in the Schøyen Collection*, CUSAS 32, 2016, p. 111-113.

**l. 6** : la forme *sa-lu-úh* est à prendre comme une variante du nom du célèbre dieu Asalluhi. Il faut peut-être corriger le texte en <a>-*sa-lu-úh*, *a-sa-lu-úh* étant attestée par la série *Proto-Diri* de Nippur. On notera néanmoins la forme rare non-standard <sup>d</sup>sa-lu<sub>2</sub>-hi ; cf. A. Johandi, *The God Asar/Asaluhi in the Early Mesopotamian Pantheon*, *Dissertationes Theologiae Universitatis Tartuensis* 37, 2019 (en 2020 sur Academia.edu).

**l. 10-11** : on trouve dans ces lignes la réminiscence d'une formule déjà présente dans une incantation relative au chien noir (*kal-bum šal-mum*) attestée à Kaneš au 19<sup>e</sup> siècle (K. R. Veenhof, « An Old Assyrian Incantation against a black Dog (kt a :k 611) », Fs. H. Hirsh, WZKM 86, 1996, p. 425-433 et SEAL no. 7220 : 3-8) : *kà-al-bu-um, šal-al-mu-um, i-tí-li-im ra-bi<sub>4</sub>-iṣ, ú-qá-a illat-tám, pá-ri-is-tám et-lam<sub>x</sub> dam-qám i-ta-na-áp-l[i-sà] e-na-šu* « Le chien noir, tapi dans une colline, attend la caravane, ses yeux guettent le beau jeune isolé. » Les marchands assyriens ont sûrement emprunté la formule au répertoire magique de Larsa ou au moins à celui de la « Babylonie » en général, en l'adaptant à leur culture. CUNES 49 – 03 – 357 n'en donne qu'un avatar babylonien plus « tardif ».



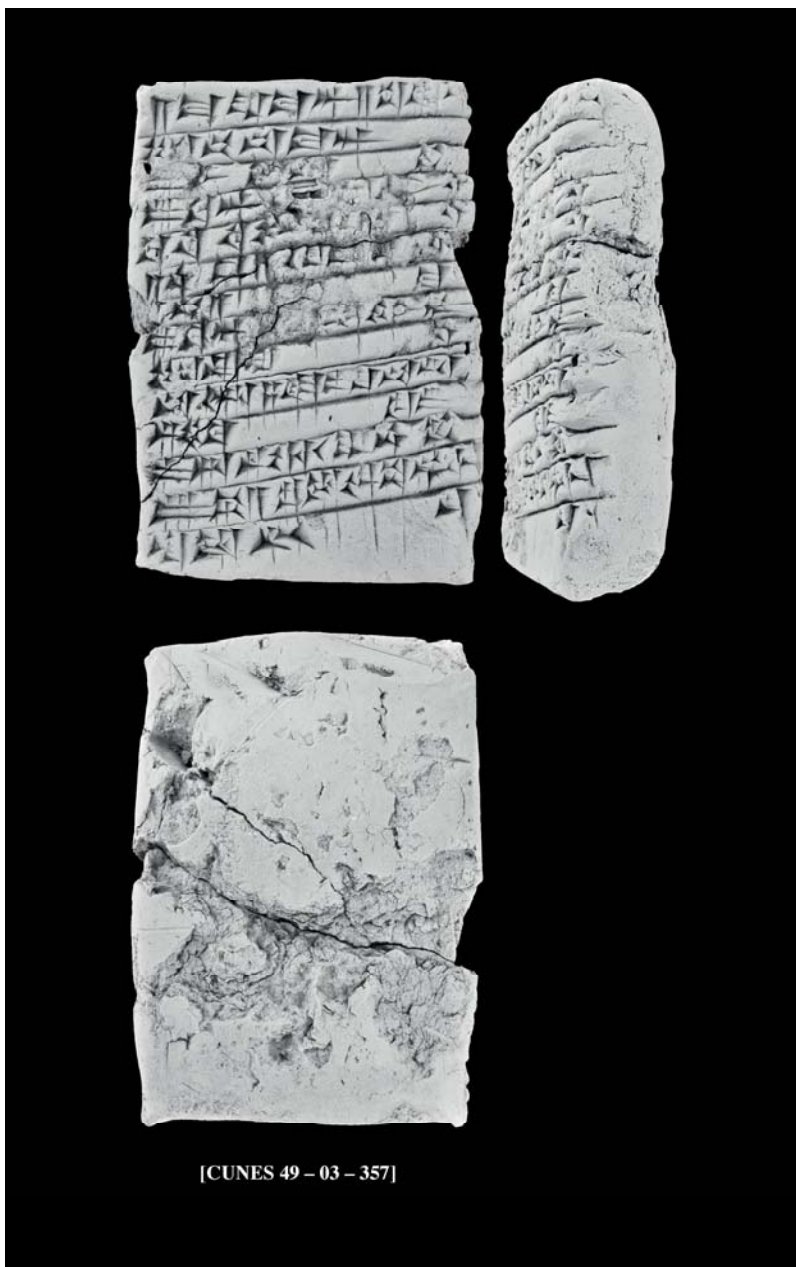
[CUNES 49 – 02 – 218 : face]



[CUNES 49 – 02 – 218 : revers]

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# Proportional Weights of Metals in Ugarit

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**Résumé.** La richesse du matériel métallique mis au jour sur les sites de Ras Shamra et de Minet el-Beida, ainsi que de Ras Ibn Hani, a été maintes fois soulignée. Le bronze, alliage de cuivre et d'étain, est de loin le métal le plus attesté, utilisé pour une grande diversité d'objets (outillage, armement, parures, figurines, vases...). La découverte de lingots de métal a été signalée dès les premières campagnes de fouille. À ce jour, seuls des lingots de cuivre, d'argent et de plomb ont été répertoriés, ces derniers étant très majoritaires ; aucun lingot d'étain n'est mentionné dans les archives de fouille ou les publications. La documentation textuelle fournit quant à elle de nombreuses mentions de métaux et fait référence aux techniques métallurgiques ainsi qu'aux artisans travaillant le métal et aux personnes en lien avec la gestion des métaux et des productions métalliques. Les textes semblent montrer que l'administration à Ugarit avait affaire pour les métaux à des quantités standardisées avec deux unités, de 4,7 kg et de 5,6 kg. La confrontation des données textuelles et archéologiques pourrait indiquer l'usage d'un système d'échange fondé, pour le cuivre, sur le sicle ougaritique.

The wealth of metallic material brought to light from the sites of Ras Shamra and Minet el-Beida, as well as from Ras Ibn Hani, has been highlighted several times. Bronze, an alloy of copper and tin, is by far the most common metal in the form of a large variety of

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objects (tools, weaponry, jewellery, figurines, vases...), found isolated or in groups<sup>2</sup>. This wealth of material has an equivalent in the written texts, where there are numerous references to metals, metallurgical techniques, to personnel connected with this type of work as well as its products<sup>3</sup>.

The discovery of metal ingots was recorded right from the very first excavation campaign. To date, only ingots of copper, silver and lead have been catalogued, lead ingots being the vast majority<sup>4</sup>; no tin ingot is mentioned in the excavation archives or in publications. While preparing a catalogue of occurrences in Ugarit, based on inventories of the mission and researches in museums, Ella Dardaillon, in particular, has stressed the variety in type in the corpus of ingots<sup>5</sup>.

### **Units of weight in Ugarit: the textual evidence**

Very often the administrative texts of Ugarit provide lists of place names, personal names or names of professions, followed by numbers, the exact meaning of remains enigmatic, either because the texts do not say what they refer to or else because the text is broken and the relevant information has been lost. However, sometimes, a careful reading of the text allows us to understand what actually lies behind these figures and to propose a new interpretation. This applies to the alphabetic administrative text RS 17.023 (KTU<sup>3</sup> 4.261), discovered in 1953 in the Archives Centrales in the royal palace of Ugarit (room 66)<sup>6</sup> and published in 1957 by Charles

<sup>2</sup> See, for example, Caubet & Yon 2001; Dardaillon 2012b; Matoïan 2018 (with references).

<sup>3</sup> For an overall view we refer to the study by Chanut 2000, as well as the more recent survey by del Olmo 2019.

<sup>4</sup> Dardaillon 2006, vol. II, cat. 45-47 (copper), 48-84 (lead), 85-86 (silver); Dardaillon 2012a; Peyronnel 2016.

<sup>5</sup> Dardaillon 2004a; Dardaillon 2004b; Dardaillon 2006; Dardaillon 2012a et 2012b. For Ras Ibn Hani, see Lagarce 1977; Lagarce *et al.* 1997; Bounni *et al.* 1998.

<sup>6</sup> Bordreuil and Pardee 1989, 125.

Virolleaud<sup>7</sup>. It groups together a series of persons by place, and each personal name is followed by a number (the word for shekel being tacitly understood)<sup>8</sup>, without explicitly saying to which product these numbers refer. The heading of the text specifies that it is a “document of the *argmn* of the (metal-)casters”<sup>9</sup>. Here we provide a transcription and translation of the text<sup>10</sup>, taking into account that the system of weights used in Ugarit is as follows — 1 talent = 60 minas; 1 mina = 50 shekels; 1 talent = 3000 shekels — taking into account the equivalence of 1 shekel = 9.4 g (also, 1 mina = 470 g and 1 talent = 28.200 kg)<sup>11</sup>.

spr . argmn . ns<sup>c</sup>k<sup>m</sup>  
 rqdym  
 špšm . tt mat  
 sprn . tt mat  
 5    dkry . tt mat  
      plsy . tt mat  
      ‘dn . ḥmš<sup>c</sup>ṛ<sup>m</sup>at  
      ṛ<sup>d</sup> ṛ<sup>m</sup>ṛ<sup>r</sup>ṛ<sup>b</sup>l . tt ṛ<sup>m</sup>at  
      ---- tt ṛ<sup>m</sup>[at]  
 10    ilmlk[ . ]tt mat  
      ‘bdilm . tt mat  
      šmmn[ . b]ṛ<sup>n</sup> . ‘dš . tt mat  
 -----

<sup>7</sup> PRU 2 n° 60, p. 85.

<sup>8</sup> As is often the case in the alphabetic texts from Ugarit, cf. Tropper 2016, 413-414.

<sup>9</sup> The term *argmn* is usually translated as “tribute”, or sometimes as “offering”, cf. del Olmo and Sanmartín 2015: 1) “payment of tribute to the Hittite court”, 2) “‘tribute’ in general”, 3) “offering”; Tropper 2008, 7: “Tribut, Abgabe”. Even so, the texts discussed in this article, together with other texts, were part of the system of work-assignment used in Ugarit for work on metals partly for probably making objects in bronze — a system that probably had the generic name *argmn* (cf. texts RS 9.011, RS 15.106 and RS 17.023) and which has been analysed and described in Rougemont and Vita, forthcoming. In the present article, therefore, this word will be left in its Ugaritic form and left untranslated.

<sup>10</sup> The transcription follows KTU<sup>3</sup>, and the same applies to the other texts cited in this article.

<sup>11</sup> Bordreuil 2012, 284. It must be remembered that these figures are average values; see also note 43.

ušknyṁ  
 yp' . alpm  
 15 aḥṛm<sup>1</sup>lk . bn . nskn . alpm  
 krw . šlmy  
 alpm  
 atn . bšry . alpm

-----  
 lbnyṁ  
 20 ṭm[ . ]alp mitm  
 ṛiṛl(?)b<sup>1</sup> ḥmš m[at]  
 'dn . ḥmš . mat

-----  
 bn . i(?)b . alp  
 bn . ṛg<sup>1</sup>pn . ṭṭ mat

Document of the *argmn* of the “(metal-)casters”<sup>12</sup>.

People of the village of Raqdu:

PN: 600 (shekels) [5·6 kg]  
 PN: 600 (shekels) [5·6 kg]  
 5 PN: 600 (shekels) [5·6 kg]  
 PN: 600 (shekels) [5·6 kg]  
 PN: 500 (shekels) [4·7 kg]  
 PN: 600 (shekels) [5·6 kg]  
 [PN]: 600 (shekels) [5·6 kg]

10 PN: 600 (shekels) [5·6 kg]  
 PN: 600 (shekels) [5·6 kg]  
 PN: 600 (shekels) [5·6 kg]

People of the village of Uškānu:

PN: 2000 (shekels) [18·8 kg]  
 15 PN: 2000 (shekels) [18·8 kg]

PN, of the village of Šalmā:

2000 (shekels) [18·8 kg]

PN, of the village of Baširu: 2,000 (shekels) [18·8 kg]

<sup>12</sup> The word *nsk* (*nāsiku*) is the general Ugaritic term for professions relating to working with metal, which can be made more specific by expressions such as *nsk ksp* (for silver) or *nsk ṭlt*, as well as others; cf. del Olmo and Sanmartín 2015, 635-636 (“caster, forger of metals”); Tropper 2008, 90; Vita 2018, 360.

- People of the village of Labnūma<sup>13</sup>:
- 20 PN: 1200 (shekels) [11·2 kg]  
 PN: 50[0] (shekels) [4·7 kg]  
 PN: 500 (shekels) [4·7 kg]  
 PN: 1000 (shekels) [9·4 kg]  
 PN: 600 (shekels) [5·6 kg]

The text does not specify to what these amounts of shekels refer, but in the light of the alphabetic administrative text RS 9.011 (KTU<sup>3</sup> 4.43)<sup>14</sup> it is possible to suggest that the figures recorded there refer to quantities of metal:

- 𐎧𐎧𐎠 . d yša  
 bd . šmmn  
 l argmn  
 l nskm  


---

 5. 𐎧𐎧𐎠 . kkrm  
 alp . kbd  
 [m]𐎧𐎧𐎠 . kbd

Copper/bronze<sup>15</sup> that has been sent  
 in (through) the hand of Šmmn  
 for the *argmn*,  
 for the (metal-)casters.

<sup>13</sup> Cf. van Soldt 2005, 27 with n. 208 for the identification of *lbnym* as the plural gentilic of Labnūma.

<sup>14</sup> Bordreuil and Pardee 1989, 49: “Butte NW Tell ‘versant N rempart’”.

<sup>15</sup> In dictionaries of Ugaritic the word *𐎧𐎧𐎠* (*taṭu*) is translated as “copper, bronze”, cf. del Olmo and Sanmartín 2015, 897, Tropper 2008, 133; see also Chanut 2000, 253. In fact, Pardee 2000, 48, notes that “Le principal problème est de savoir si *𐎧𐎧𐎠* désignait le bronze aussi bien que le cuivre; sinon, le mot désignant le bronze n’est pas attesté (si c’est n’est dans le mot composé *sbrdn*) ...”. The question also arises for the term URUDU, the logo-syllabic form of *𐎧𐎧𐎠* in Ugarit. There will be further discussion of this question by the authors in a future study. For the moment, then, and even though some administrative texts (RS 18.024 for example) seem to encourage translating this term as “copper”, here, provisionally we maintain the translation of *𐎧𐎧𐎠* as “copper/bronze”.

5. Eight talents [225·6 kg] (and)  
1,200 (shekels) [11·2 kg].

RS 9.011 records the issue of a quantity of copper/bronze, most likely from a store controlled by the palace. It amounts to 236·88 kilos of copper delivered to the “(metal-)casters” (*nskm*) for making objects that are not specified. Besides mentioning the “(metal-)casters”, like RS 17.023, the text also mentions the term *argmn*.

Therefore, RS 17.023 probably records persons followed by a quantity of metal without specifying what it is<sup>16</sup>. Unlike RS 9.011, this text is limited to recording quantities of metal linked directly with “(metal-)casters”, who are grouped in respect of the places where they live or work. The first two sections of the text record very regular quantities. In total, the text amounts to 165·9 kilos of metal. The main purpose of the text seems to be controlling exactly the quantities of metal already weighed, which are either ready for delivery (the text would then be a preparatory record of delivery) or that have already been delivered (the text would then record the final location of these amounts). The contrast with RS 9.011, which explicitly records an issue of copper/bronze, could indicate the second option for RS 17.023. The persons mentioned for each village could be “(metal-)casters” assigned with modifying the metal, but, while plausible, there is nothing in the text that allows this to be certain.

However, if one examines closely the figures in text RS 17.023, it is possible to draw even more conclusions from them. In increasing order and converted into kilos, the text records five amounts (4·7; 5·6; 9·4; 11·2 and 18·8) that between them maintain two sets of ratios which cannot be due to chance. On the one hand there is the series 4·7 kg (= 500 shekels)  $\times 2 = 9·4$  kg (= 1000 shekels)  $\times 2 = 18·8$  kg (= 2000 shekels). On the other, the series 5·6 kg (= 600 shekels)  $\times 2 = 11·2$  kg (= 1200 shekels). These ratios can be summarised as follows:

<sup>16</sup> Other scholars do not consider this possibility. According to McGeough 2011, 210-211, “Listed here is the tribute from individual smiths. The smiths are listed according to geographical designation”. For KTU<sup>3</sup>, p. 363, it is simply “persons grouped by trade/profession and place of residence, with numbers”.

- Series  $4.7 \times 2 = 9.4 \times 2 = 18.8$

Shekels	Kilos
500	4.7
1000	9.4
2000	18.8

- Series  $5.6 \times 2 = 11.2$

Shekels	Kilos
600	5.6
1200	11.2

The only possible conclusion is that, in fact, RS 17.023 records not one, but two different metals, each of which, in addition, is recorded as a minimal unit weight of 4.7 kg (500 shekels) and of 5.6 kg (600 shekels) respectively.

What were these two metals? The beginning of the alphabetic administrative text RS 18.024 (KTU<sup>3</sup> 4.337)<sup>17</sup> may provide an answer, as the names of the metals involved are specified:

ṛsṛpr . ḥṭbn . sbrdnm  
 -----  
 ḥmš- . kkrm . alp- ṛ.ṛ kbṛdṛ  
 ṭlṭ . l . nskm . birtym  
 bd . urtn . w . ṭṭ . mat . brr  
 5 b . ṭmnym . ksp . ṭlṭṭ . kbd  
 -----  
 ḥmš . alp . ṭlṭ . l . ḥlby  
 bd . tlmi . b . ṣrm . ḥmšt  
 kbd . ksp  
 -----  
 ...

Document of the account of the bronze-smiths:  
 five talents [141 kg] (and) 1,000 (shekels) [9.4 kg]

<sup>17</sup> Bordreuil and Pardee 1989, 157: “Palais Royal, cour V”. Text republished, with a commentary, in Pardee 2000, 41-56, whose transcription is followed here.

- of copper/bronze for the (metal-)casters of Beirut  
in the hand of Urtēnu and 600 (shekels) [5·6 kg] of tin  
5 for 83 (shekels) of silver.  
5,000 shekels [47 kg] of copper/bronze for Ḫlby  
in the hand of Tlmu for 25 (shekels)  
of silver.

This text concerns quantities of *ṭṭ* (copper/bronze) and *brr* (tin) intended for (metal-)casters and for one additional person. The weight of *ṭṭ* (copper/bronze) recorded in lines 2-3 reaches a total of 150·4 kg, a figure that in turn is a multiple of 4·7 ( $4·7 \times 32 = 150·4$ ); in lines 6-8 the quantity of *ṭṭ* (copper/bronze) (47 kg) is also a multiple of 4·7. In line 4 the quantity of 5·6 kg is mentioned, specifying it as *brr* (tin)<sup>18</sup>.

In text RS 17.023, therefore, proposing that the figures 4·7, 9·4 and 18·8 correspond to quantities of *ṭṭ* (copper/bronze), while 5·6 and 11·2 correspond to quantities of *brr* (tin) seems a very likely hypothesis. Therefore, the text is to be understood as follows:

- Document of the *argmn* of the (metal-)casters.  
People of the village of Raqdu:  
PN: 600 (shekels of tin) [5·6 kg]  
PN: 600 (shekels of tin) [5·6 kg]  
5 PN: 600 (shekels of tin) [5·6 kg]  
PN: 600 (shekels of tin) [5·6 kg]  
PN: 500 (shekels of copper/bronze) [4·7 kg]  
PN: 600 (shekels of tin) [5·6 kg]  
[PN]: 600 (shekels of tin) [5·6 kg]  
10 PN: 600 (shekels of tin) [5·6 kg]  
PN: 600 (shekels of tin) [5·6 kg]  
PN: 600 (shekels of tin) [5·6 kg]  
People of the village of Uškānu:  
PN: 2000 (shekels of copper/bronze) [18·8 kg]

<sup>18</sup> The meaning “tin” for *brr* seems to be well established, cf. del Olmo and Sanmartín 2015, 237. On the other hand, according to Stieglitz 1979, 18, and Pardee 2000, 46, this text shows that copper and tin had the same price: 1 shekel of silver for 200 shekels of copper/tin and 15 shekels of silver for one talent (= 3,000 g) of copper/tin.



- 15 PN: 2000 (shekels of copper/bronze) [18·8 kg]  
 PN, of the village of Šalmā:  
 2000 (shekels of copper/bronze) [18·8 kg]  
 PN, of the village of Baširu: 2,000 (shekels of copper) [18·8 kg]  
 People of the village of Labnūma:
- 20 PN: 1200 (shekels of tin) [11·2 kg]  
 PN: 50[0] (shekels of copper/bronze) [4·7 kg]  
 PN: 500 (shekels of copper/bronze) [4·7 kg]  
 PN: 1000 (shekels of copper/bronze) [9·4 kg]  
 PN: 600 (shekels of tin) [5·6 kg]

The alphabetic administrative text RS 15.106 (KTU<sup>3</sup> 4.181)<sup>19</sup> shows, once again, that 4·7 kg seems to have been the minimum weight of copper/bronze distributed by the Ugaritian administration and mentioned in the texts:

spr . irgmn  
 𐎓𐎌𐎕 . 𐎎𐎎𐎕 . alpm  
 bd . brq . maḥdy

5. kkr . 𐎓𐎌𐎕  
 bd . bn . by . ar<sup>r</sup>y<sup>r</sup>  
 -----  
 alpm . 𐎓𐎌𐎕  
 bd . šim . il<sup>r</sup>š<sup>r</sup>tm<sup>r</sup>y  
 -----

Document of the *irgmn*<sup>20</sup>:  
 Copper/bronze<sup>21</sup>: 5000 (shekels) [47 kg]  
 in the hand of Brq, of the village of Maḥadu.  
 One talent of copper/bronze [28·2 kg]

5. in the hand of Bn By, of the village of 'Aru.  
 2000 (shekels of) copper/bronze [18·8 kg]

<sup>19</sup> Bordreuil and Pardee 1989, 89: "Palais Royal, pièce 52 (Archives Est)".

<sup>20</sup> The writing *irgmn* is a variant of the word *argmn*.

<sup>21</sup> Cf. Tropper 2012, 406: "Denkbar ist auch, daß 𐎓𐎌𐎕 in 4.181:2 sinngemäß noch zur Textüberschrift gehört: *spr irgmn* / 𐎓𐎌𐎕, 'Tributliste; (nämlich) Bronze (als Tribut)' (4.181:1-2)".

in the hand of Šim, of the village of 'Ilišam'u.

In fact, the three quantities in the text are multiples of 4.7 : 18.8 kg =  $4.7 \times 4$ ; 28.2 kg =  $4.7 \times 6$ ; 47 kg =  $4.7 \times 10$ .

In the two texts RS 17.023 and RS 18.024, the purpose of the quantities of metal is not made explicit. For RS 18.024, the mention of tin (*brr*) alongside copper/bronze (*tl̄t*) seems to show that these quantities of metal were probably intended for making objects in bronze. Instead, the interpretation RS 17.023 is more uncertain. In no case does the same person receive both kinds of metal. In some villages, only one type of metal was delivered. Finally, if the two metals in question are actually copper and tin, it is clear that the amount of tin is somewhat higher (approximately  $\frac{1}{3}$ ) than the quantity of copper, which requires an explanation. In fact, this is not the correct ratio for making bronze.

It is also worth noting that the overall quantity of 236.88 kg of *tl̄t* (copper/bronze) recorded in RS 9.011 (see above) is not exactly divisible by 4.7:  $4.7 \times 50 = 235$ . However, if the scribes were working with standardised quantities or these metals, one would expect a number divisible by 4.7 in RS 9.011. The question arises, in this case, as to whether the word *tl̄t* refers to bronze. So, the way the number is expressed, *tmn . kkr̄m alp . kbd [m]itm . kbd* “eight talents and 1,200 shekels”<sup>22</sup>, could also imply quantities of copper but equally, quantities of tin. In fact: a) its two components (eight talents = 225.6 kg, and 1,200 shekels = 11.2 kg) are exactly divisible by 4.7 and 5.6 respectively ( $225.6 : 4.7 = 48$ ;  $11.2 : 5.6 = 2$ ), and b) these quantities provide a good ratio for making the alloy bronze.

As the main conclusion of these discussions of texts, it should be stated that the administration of Ugarit seems to have handled metals in standardised amounts, with two unit-weights of 4.7 kg and 5.6 kg. In fact, these quantities were probably so standardised that for the scribe of text RS 17.023, simply recording the different weights ensured that he and his colleagues had a clear and correct

<sup>22</sup> A perfectly Ugaritian way of indicating 236.88 kg, cf. Tropper 2012, 361 and 412.

awareness of the type of metal in question<sup>23</sup>. This would mean that 4·7 kg would refer to *tl̄t̄* (copper/bronze) and 5·6 kg would refer to *brr* (tin).

### Copper ingots found in Ras Shamra

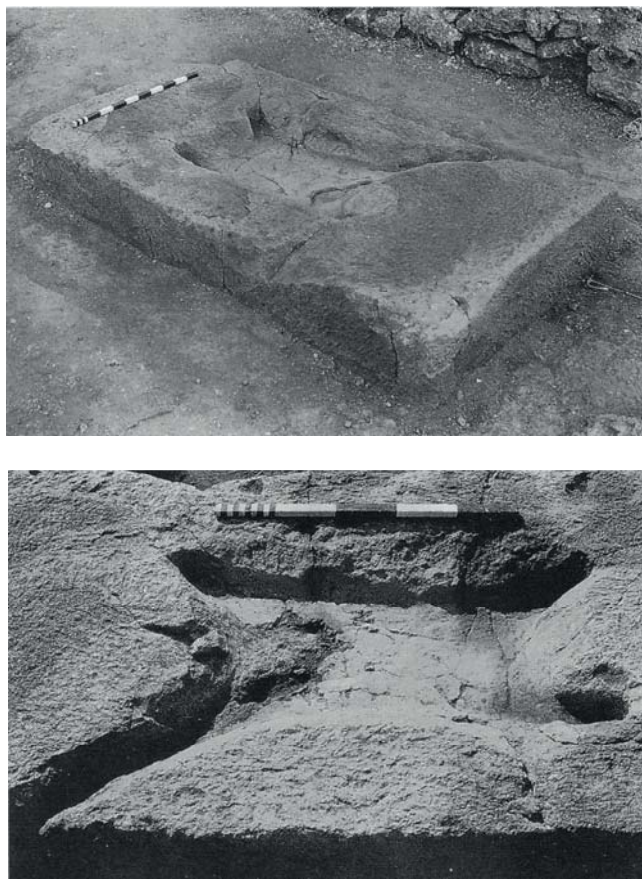
The presence of copper ingots in Ugarit is documented, on the one hand by the exceptional mould for an ingot from Ras Ibn Hani and, on the other, by several ingots discovered on the site of Ras Shamra. In Ras Ibn Hani, the excavators uncovered traces of a connection with metallurgical activity in the final period of the “Palais Nord” being used (after the death of queen Aḥatmilku, the mother of Ammištamru II).

The ingot mould — a block of chalky sandstone<sup>24</sup> with an oxhide shape on its upper face (**fig. 1**) — was installed in room XVII, where fragments of crucibles were also found. Analysis of the drips of copper collected around the mould shows that pure copper was being worked, originating in Cyprus<sup>25</sup>.

<sup>23</sup> Which is certainly in agreement with the general comment by Tropper 2012, 414, in the context of the syntax of numbers: “Andere Maßangaben mit anderem Gemessenem fehlen offenbar nur dann elliptisch, wenn sie entweder vorher im Text explizit erwähnt wurden oder aus dem unmittelbaren Kontext eindeutig zu erschließen sind” (italics ours).

<sup>24</sup> Dimensions : 1·5 × 0·8 × 0·38 m.

<sup>25</sup> Bounni *et al.* 1998, pp. 43–48.



*Fig. 1: The ingot mould from Ras Ibn Hani (after Boumni et al. 1998).*

As regards copper in Ras Shamra, the best-known item is a fragment of an ingot said to be of oxhide shape (RS 22.293)<sup>26</sup> (**fig. 2**), found in the Northern extension of the “tranchée Ville Sud”, probably in a workshop connected with metal-working<sup>27</sup>. This is the

<sup>26</sup> In the inventory of finds from 1959, the excavator describes the object as follows: “lingot de cuivre, incomplet, à surface granuleuse, forme chypriote?”.

<sup>27</sup> Lagarce 1997, p. 77, note 12 (citing H.G. Buchholz); Dardaillon 2004a; Dardaillon 2006, cat. 45; Dardaillon 2012b, p. 172, fig. 18.4. The main fragment weighs 5.5 kg. Another fragment (weighing 2.153 kg), catalogued with the same RS num-

most common type of ingot in the Late Bronze Age in the Western Mediterranean. Most of the ingots made of Cypriot copper found in the Uluburun shipwreck, i.e. 317 specimens, have this shape<sup>28</sup>, each with an average weight of about 24 kilograms. Indeed, the results obtained for 165 oxhide ingots, cleaned and well enough preserved, have shown that the heaviest ox hide ingot weighs 29.5 kilograms, the lightest only 20.1 kilograms, with the mean weight of the 165 ingots being 23.9 kilograms<sup>29</sup>.



*Fig. 2: Fragment of the copper ingot RS 22.293, Ras Shamra (after Galliano and Calvet 2004).*

ber, is probably part of the same ingot. The location of its discovery is not indicated in the work by O. Callot as he did not take this extension into account in his study.

<sup>28</sup> In the cargo of that wreck, many tin ingots also have this shape (Pulak 2000; Pulak 2008).

<sup>29</sup> Pulak 2000, pp. 141-142.

From the “Ville Sud” there comes also a small penannular ingot made of copper (RS 22.136), weighing 362 g<sup>30</sup>. It was found at topographic point 2555, located in place 13 of insula IV and is not associated with a workshop for metals<sup>31</sup>. It can be mentioned that an ingot of the same shape was found in Alalakh<sup>32</sup>.

Recently, research on the unpublished archives of the early excavations by the *Mission archéologique de Ras Shamra – Ougarit* have been able to extend this corpus thanks to the identification, in the collections in the Louvre museum, of a discovery made in 1930 on the Acropolis, in the sector of the “maison du Grand-Prêtre”<sup>33</sup>. It is the “copper ingot weighing more than 10 kilos”<sup>34</sup> which the excavator records in the preliminary report on the second campaign (Syria 1931). The information provided by that publication supplies no details concerning this object, except for its weight (inventory number, shape, size, find spot)<sup>35</sup>, and this find was hardly taken into account in later studies<sup>36</sup>. It is the identification of an unpublished plan (Schaeffer collection, Collège de France) which recently made it possible to locate this find to the south of the “rue de la Bibliothèque”<sup>37</sup> and, thanks to a small sketch, to specify its shape. The second element has made it possible to match it with an object in the Department of Near Eastern Antiquities, Louvre Museum, Paris (inventory number AO 13160) (**fig. 3**), listed by Étienne Bordreuil

<sup>30</sup> Dardaillon 2006, cat. 46. Note that if one multiplies the 362 g of this weight by a round number such as 25, the result is 9050 g, or 9.05 kg, which could be significant for the heavier ingots mentioned in this article.

<sup>31</sup> *Contra* Callot 1994 (Appendice I, p. 220, Appendice II p. 227) who, by mistake, indicates rue XII-XIII as the location of this discovery.

<sup>32</sup> Woolley 1955, p. 198: Level I, house 38/B, room 14, “a horseshoe shaped ingot of copper”.

<sup>33</sup> Matoïan 2018.

<sup>34</sup> Schaeffer 1931, p. 7.

<sup>35</sup> In her studies on metal products, Ella Dardaillon notes this exceptional find (Dardaillon 2012b, p. 172), but without including it in the catalogue due to a lack of supplementary information. The discovery of the ingot is not indicated on the plan of the sector of the “maison du Grand-prêtre” published in 1956 in *Ugaritica* III.

<sup>36</sup> Cf. Dardaillon 2012.

<sup>37</sup> In an area where the plans show a vacant lot.

in the catalogue of the weights of Ugarit that he has compiled<sup>38</sup>. Its weight is 9 kg (and not 10 kg as indicated by the excavator in that publication) and would correspond to 1000 shekels in the metrological system of Ugarit<sup>39</sup>. Here we refer to the lower value of the Ugaritian shekel, which is particularly documented by the haematite weight RS 15.226, from the royal palace (*locus* 52) on which there is an inscription in alphabetic cuneiform, in Ugaritic, indicating the number 10 (i.e. 10 shekels) with a weight of 89.5 g<sup>40</sup>.

The shape of this object, which is more or less annular, is unique. It has one flat face with an irregular surface, another flat face with a smooth surface and sides alternating between rectilinear sections and rounded sections.

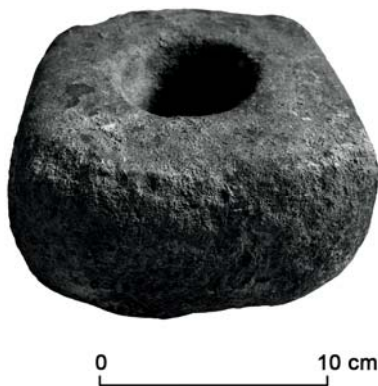


Fig. 3: The copper ingot Louvre AO 13160, Ras Shamra (Mission of Ras Shamra, photo V. Matoïan)

<sup>38</sup> Bordreuil 2019, cat. 443. E. Bordreuil classified Louvre AO 13160 as the sole example under the heading “poids annulaire en métal”; p. 153, the author poses the question: “s’agit-il d’un poids?”.

<sup>39</sup> It is not always possible to make a functional distinction between ingots and weights; for lead ingots see Peyronel 2016.

<sup>40</sup> Bordreuil 2008, pp. 217–218.

## The letter RS 94.2475

The copper of the ingot AO 13160 could have come from Cyprus<sup>41</sup>, which is the main supplier of this mineral in the Late Bronze Age. Here can be mentioned the Akkadian letter RS 94.2475 from the “maison d’Urtēnu” (**fig. 4**), recently published by Sylvie Lackenbacher and Florence Malbran-Labat. Sent by the king of Alashiya (Cyprus) to the king of Ugarit, this document records the despatch of copper ingots equivalent to approximately 900 kg (907.1 kg), according to the hypothesis that the metrological system of Ugarit was followed:

“(rev. 6'-7') In exchange for the gift that you had brought to me, (rev. 8'-11') I send you 33 (ingots of) copper (as to) their number, 30 talents 6,500 (shekels) of copper (as to) their weight”.<sup>42</sup>

The weight of an ingot would be about 27 kg ( $907.1 : 33 = 27.48$  kg). Accepting that one Ugaritian shekel = 9 g, its weight would be approximately 26.32 kg, i.e. three times more than the weight of the ingot Louvre AO 13160.

In their commentary on text RS 94.2475, S. Lackenbacher and F. Malbran-Labat propose the possibility of two metrological systems: the Ugaritian shekel (9.4 g), and the Hittite shekel (11.75 g), while suggesting that it could have been in use on Cyprus. If the hypothesis of a Hittite shekel is accepted, an ingot would weigh approximately 24.75 kg.

<sup>41</sup> In fact, samples of this metal were taken and analysed shortly after the discovery of the ingot. They were published by C. Schaeffer soon after in 1936 (Schaeffer 1936, p. 99). New analysis in a laboratory (especially isotopic analysis) is required.

<sup>42</sup> Lackenbacher and Malbran-Labat 2016, n° 16.





Fig. 4 : The tablet RS 94.2475, Ras Shamra (Mission of Ras Shamra)

## Conclusions

The texts seem to show that the administration of Ugarit appears to have handled metals in standardised amounts, with two unit-weights of 4.7 kg and 5.6 kg. More or less direct relationships between the textual information and the archaeological data can be envisaged, but the debased condition of the ingots from the Uluburun shipwreck<sup>43</sup> and the existence of only a single intact copper ingot in Ugarit caution against making too hasty a conclusion. It is

<sup>43</sup> Pulak 2008, p. 304, note 11: "Originally, the ingots would have been heavier, since the corrosive seawater environment dissolved some of the copper and reduced parts of the ingots to a spongy consistency. The original weight of an ingot is therefore impossible to determine with accuracy".

possible that for their calculations, the administrative personnel producing these texts, used “ideal” measures<sup>44</sup>, independently of the exact weight of the ingots or manufactured goods, as close as possible to the “weight units” recorded in the texts. However, for Ugarit, the weight of the ingot Louvre AO 13160 could correspond to approximately twice the “standard unit” (4.7 kg) as shown for copper/bronze (*tl̄t*) in the texts that have just been analysed<sup>45</sup> and could prove the existence of a system of exchange based on the Ugaritian shekel for copper.

As for the second “standard unit” highlighted — 5.6 kg ( $\times 2 = 11.2$  kg) — could it then not only show evidence of another metal (*brr*, probably “tin”), but also its provenance and/or the trade routes with which this raw material was connected, and therefore different from those for *tl̄t* (“copper, bronze”) ? In such an eventuality, relating it to the Hittite shekel (= 11.75 g), the use of which is documented in Ugarit, would be particularly illuminating.

The provenance of tin in the Bronze Age is still difficult to establish. For the tin ingots from the Uluburun shipwreck, two sources have been suggested: Afghanistan and the mines in the region of Bolkardağ, in Anatolia<sup>46</sup>. This second source, then, would be worth considering to corroborate the hypothesis we are proposing for the unit weight equivalent to 5.6 kg.

<sup>44</sup> Five inscribed weights have made it possible to define the average value of a shekel as 9.4 g; examination of their weight shows that the value of a shekel of Ugarit ranges between 8.95 g and 10 g (Bordreuil 2019, pp. 289-290).

<sup>45</sup> The existence of ingots broken into several pieces is known mainly from finds in the Uluburun shipwreck. Its cargo included lead ingots cut into two or into four, probably collected by means of barter, levies, taxes or gifts (Pulak 2000; Pulak 2008, p. 308).

<sup>46</sup> Pulak 2008, 310. See also Yener and Özbal 1986; Yener 2000.

## Further research

This initial study must be continued and developed in various directions: – by presenting complete collections<sup>47</sup> and initiating programmes of analysis in laboratories; – by re-examining the terminology of metals in Ugarit; – by explaining better the background for the numerical data in texts RS 17.023, RS 15.106, RS 9.011 and RS 18.024, discussed in this article, but also in other texts dealing with metals, especially in order to understand the circulation of metals (supply; administration and distribution within the kingdom<sup>48</sup>; long distance international exchanges; ratios between units of weight and units of money) and their use, focussing especially on the manufacture of objects in bronze.

## Abbreviations

KTU<sup>3</sup> M. Dietrich, O. Loretz and J. Sanmartín, *Die keilalphabetischen Texte aus Ugarit, Ras Ibn Hani und anderen Orten*, Münster <sup>3</sup>2013.  
 PRU 2 Ch. Vroilleaud, *Le palais royal d'Ugarit II*, Paris 1957.

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 Bordreuil, P. & Pardee, D. 1989, *La trouvaille épigraphique de l'Ougarit. 1. Concordance*, Paris.

<sup>47</sup> See especially a study of lead ingots (Matoian & Vita, forthcoming). Here it is worth mentioning the discovery, in the royal palace in Ras Shamra, of two lead ingots (RS 15.282 and RS 15.280), both intact, which weigh 8.95 kg (more or less the same weight as the copper ingot Louvre AO 13160) and 18 kg (double that weight) respectively.

<sup>48</sup> For which see also note 9 above.

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## Arad Ostrakon 24 Side A

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**Abstract.** This article deals with Ostrakon 24 from Arad, Side A. It has three parts, written by different authors: An introduction to the multispectral imaging of the ostrakon, which made this study possible, followed by two alternative decipherments of the inscription.

**Résumé.** Cet article porte sur l'ostrakon d'Arad n° 24, face A. Il comporte trois parties, écrites par différents auteurs : une introduction à l'imagerie multispectrale de l'ostrakon, qui a rendu cette étude possible, suivie par deux déchiffrements alternatifs de l'inscription.

**Keywords:** Arad ostraca, Arad 24, Multispectral imaging, Palimpsest, Elyashib, Arad storehouse, Paleography

### Part I: Introduction: Multispectral Imaging of Ostrakon 24A from Arad

Shira Faigenbaum-Golovin, Israel Finkelstein and Eli Piasetzky

In recent years the team of the Digital Epigraphy project at Tel Aviv University<sup>1</sup> carried out multispectral imaging of Hebrew ostraca

<sup>1</sup> For the project and its publications see <http://www-nuclear.tau.ac.il/~eip/ostraca/Home/>. The project received initial funding from the European Research Council under the European Community's Seventh Framework Programme (FP7/2007-2013)/ERC Grant Agreement 229418, the Israel Science Foundation – F.I.R.S.T. (Bikura) Individual Grant 644/08, and the Israel Science Foundation Grants 1457/13 and 2062/18. The Digital Epigraphy work at Tel Aviv University, including the current study, is supported by a generous donation from Mr. Jacques Chahine, made through the French Friends of Tel Aviv University. We thank Dr. Eran Arie, Curator of Iron Age and Persian Period Archaeology at the Israel Museum, Jerusalem for his help. Ostrakon images are courtesy of the Institute of Archaeology, Tel Aviv University (photographer: Michael Cordonsky) and of the Israel Antiquities Authority.

from Judah, including the Arad inscriptions.<sup>2</sup> The most dramatic discovery was a “new” three-line ostrakon on the verso of Arad 16, a side that was previously believed to be blank.<sup>3</sup>

One of the most important ostraca in the Arad corpus is No. 24, which deals with an historical event in the Negeb ca. 600 BCE.<sup>4</sup> The sherd is inscribed on both sides, one very well-preserved and the other so badly eroded that it is almost fully faded (Fig. 1). Aharoni read **אל אלישיב** (To Elyashib) in the opening of the eroded side and hence saw it as the beginning of a two-sided inscription which belong to the group of Elyashib letters; we therefore label it below 24A. The text of the well-preserved side is a message ordering the movement of troops from the Judahite Negeb towns of Arad and Kinah to the town of Ramat-negeb because of a looming Edomite attack; this side is labeled below 24B. In this introduction and in the two articles that follow we deal with Arad 24A.

<sup>2</sup> S. Faigenbaum, B. Sober, A. Shaus, M. Moinester, E. Piasetzky, G. Bearman, M. Cordonsky and I. Finkelstein, “Multispectral Images of Ostraca: Acquisition and Analysis”, *Journal of Archaeological Science* 12, 2012, p. 3581-3590; B. Sober, S. Faigenbaum, I. Beit-Arieh, I. Finkelstein, M. Moinester, E. Piasetzky and A. Shaus, “Multispectral Imaging as a Tool for Enhancing the Reading of Ostraca”, *PEQ* 146, 2014, p. 185-197.

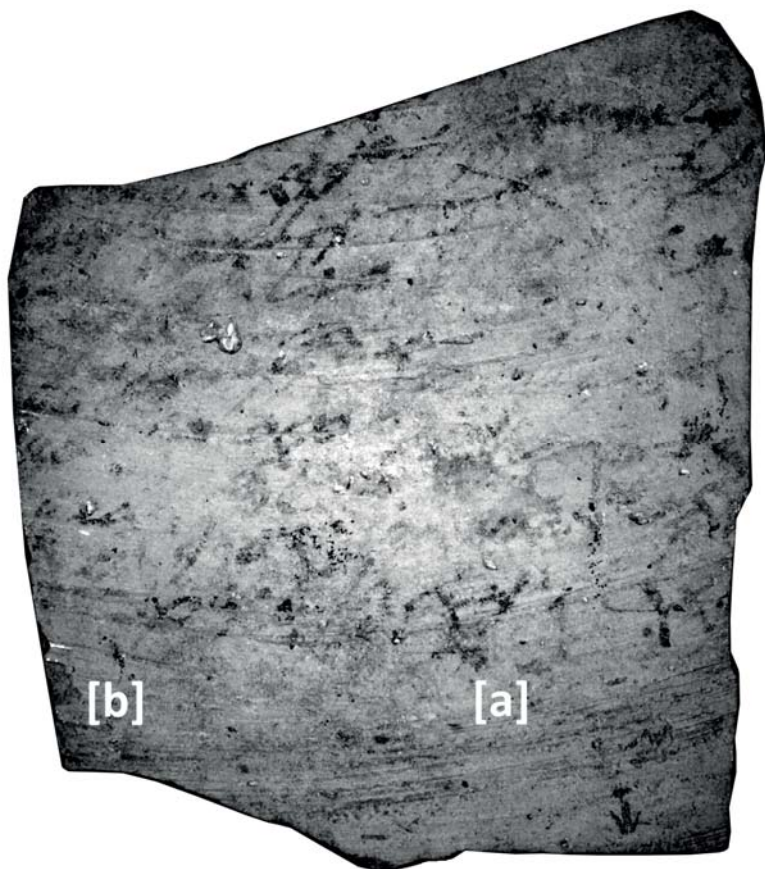
<sup>3</sup> S. Faigenbaum-Golovin, A. Mendel-Geberovich, A. Shaus, B. Sober, M. Cordonsky, D. Levin, M. Moinester, B. Sass, E. Turkel E. Piasetzky and I. Finkelstein, “Multispectral Imaging Reveals Biblical-Period Inscription Unnoticed for Half a Century”, *Plos One* June 14th, 2017; A. Mendel-Geberovich, A. Shaus, S. Faigenbaum-Golovin, B. Sober, M. Cordonsky, E. Piasetzky and I. Finkelstein, “A Brand New Old Inscription: Arad Ostrakon 16 Rediscovered via Multispectral Imaging”, *BASOR* 378, 2017, p. 113-125.

<sup>4</sup> Y. Aharoni, *Arad Inscriptions*, Jerusalem, Israel Exploration Society, 1981, p. 46-49.





Fig. 1: The two sides of Ostracon 24 from Arad: top - 24B; bottom - 24A.



*Fig. 2: Multispectral image of Arad 24A taken at 830 nm. Two different inscriptions are marked: [a] on the right and [b] on the left.*

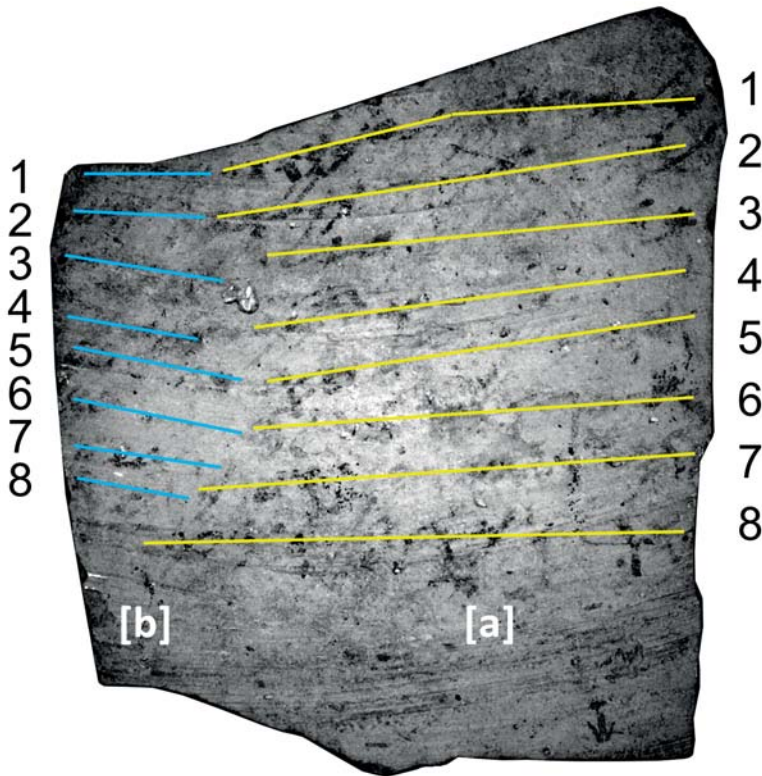


Fig 3: Direction of the lines on the left [b] and right [a] sides of Arad 24A.

Aharoni managed to decipher 28 letters in Arad 24A. Apart from his reading of **אל אלישיב** at the beginning of the inscription, he rendered four more words on this side of the ostracon, each on a different line.<sup>5</sup>

During the course of our project we took multispectral images of Arad 24A (Fig. 2). These images add about 60 characters not seen before. In addition, they seem to show two different inscriptions on this side: lines with large, somewhat clumsy letters on the right (Fig. 2 [a]) and attractively-written lines with smaller letters and a somewhat different orientation on the left (Figs. 2 [b], 3).

In order to improve our understanding regarding the number of writers on Arad 24A, and explore the relation of Arad 24A to Arad

<sup>5</sup> Aharoni, 1981, op. cit. (above, n. 4); and see below.

24B, we developed a method that enabled us to distinguish between inks according to their spectral signature. This method is based on the idea that at specific wavelengths materials reflect electromagnetic energy differently. Our results – which include investigation of other Arad ostraca – will be published elsewhere.<sup>6</sup> Suffice it to say here that the ink of both [a] and [b] in Ostrakon 24A (Fig. 2) is different from the ink in 24B, and that [a] and [b] in 24A are different from each other. This means that we are probably dealing here with a unique situation of three different inscriptions on one ostrakon: an old inscription [b] in 24A, which was partly erased to make room for a new inscription [a], and 24B. Needless to say, this influences the understanding of the ostrakon.

Although the multispectral imaging dramatically improved the legibility of the inscription, it does not allow for easy decipherment. Indeed, our team could not reach a consensus regarding the reading of the ostrakon. We therefore decided to publish two alternatives. We provide good images of the lines in order to make it possible for scholars to suggest a better reading than the two presented here.

## Part II: A New Appraisal of Ostrakon 24A

*Nadav Na'aman*

In his edition of the Arad inscriptions, Aharoni treated the two sides of Ostrakon 24 as two parts of a single letter whose obverse was badly eroded and its reverse preserved almost intact.<sup>7</sup> Rendering the beginning of the obverse אל אלישב (“To Elyashib”), he assumed that Elyashib was the addressee. Because of the eroded state of the obverse Aharoni was able to decipher only a few isolated words, namely, מלך (“king”), חיל (“troop”), כסף (“silver”) and עבר

<sup>6</sup> S. Faigenbaum-Golovin, I. Finkelstein and E. Piasetzky “Ink Separation in Multispectral Images of Iron Age Ostraca from Judah”, *forthcoming*.

<sup>7</sup> Aharoni, 1981, op. cit. (above, n. 4); according to him the ostrakon was found outside the fortress, on the western slope of the mound.

(which he erroneously translated “passed”). Other scholars accepted Aharoni’s rendering of the name Elyashib at the beginning of the observe and suggested additional restorations to the text.<sup>8</sup>

The new multispectral images of the two sides of Ostrakon 24 indicate that an entirely different interpretation should be suggested. They show that Side A is a palimpsest in which the original text was deliberately erased and a new text was written on most of the cleared surface (Fig. 2); also, that the script on most of the surface is different from that of Side B (Fig. 1). The new analysis of the ink according to its spectral signature supports this conclusion. It showed that the text on Side A was written in a different ink than Side B and that the script on Side A was written in two inks, and hence by two different scribes.<sup>9</sup>

According to the spectral signature analysis, the ink of the line-ends on Side A (Fig. 2 [b]) is different from the ink on Side B. This means that three different scribes wrote the texts on Sides A-B. The original ostrakon sent to the local commander of Arad was written on two sherds, one of which was lost and the second discovered (Ostrakon 24 Side B). Next, a local scribe at Arad wrote his text on the reverse (Side A [b]) of Ostrakon 24. Finally, a third scribe erased the text on the reverse and wrote his own text on most of its surface (Side A [a]).

There are reasons to doubt this three-stage interpretation. First, there is no parallel in the epigraphic corpus of ostraca discovered thus far in the Levant of a text written on two different sherds. All the ostraca discovered to date were written either on one or two sides of a single sherd.<sup>10</sup> Hence the natural assumption

<sup>8</sup> A. Lemaire, *Inscriptions hébraïques*, vol. 1: *Les ostraca*, Paris, Cerf, 1977, p. 188; J. Renz, *Die althebräischen Inschriften*. Part I. *Text und Kommentar* (J. Renz and W. Röllig, eds, *Handbuch der althebräischen Epigraphik*, Vol. I). Darmstadt, wbg Academic, 1995, p. 391; F.W. Dobbs-Allsopp, J.J.M. Roberts, C.L. Seow and R.E. Whitaker, *Hebrew Inscriptions. Texts from the Biblical Period of the Monarchy with Concordance*, New Haven, Yale University Press, 2005, p. 48-49; S. Ahituv, *Echoes from the Past: Hebrew and Cognate Inscriptions from the Biblical Period*, Jerusalem, Carta, 2008, p. 126, 128. Renz rendered in Line 3 [ר] לִסְפָּ (“Brief”) and in Line 8 [ר] כִּסְּ (“Sil[ber]”).

<sup>9</sup> Faigenbaum-Golovin, Finkelstein and Piasetzky, op. cit. (above, n. 6).

<sup>10</sup> For writing on the two sides of a sherd, see Lachish Ostraca 3, 4 and 9; Arad Ostraca Nos. 3, 16, 17, 18, 39 and 71; Kadesh-barnea Ostrakon No. 3. For these ostraca, see the texts editions of Renz 1995, Dobbs-Allsopp 2005, and Ahituv 2008;

that originally Side A included the obverse and Side B the reverse of the letter sent to Arad.<sup>11</sup> Second, only eleven complete or partly complete letters are available for research of Side A [b] (see below), and it is unclear whether this is enough for establishing a separate stage of writing. Although the three-stage reconstruction is theoretically possible, I wonder if this is indeed the case. I therefore adhere to the reconstruction according to which the erased text on Side A was the obverse of Arad 24B. In this light, I divide my analysis of Side A into two parts: 1) the remains of the obverse of the original letter sent to Arad; and 2) the later text written at Arad on the cleared surface of Side A.

### The Remains of the Original Text on Side A

Since the local scribe at Arad wrote his text on about three quarters of the right side, he did not bother to entirely obliterate the line-ends on the left (Fig. 2 [b]). These line-ends and some scattered letters that escaped obliteration and are faintly visible on the photographs, are silent witnesses to the history of the text. Thus, for example, a few blurred fragmented early letters can be traced in the photograph along the upper line of the ostrakon, and three blurred letters (פ י כ) are visible below the middle of this line. Also the blurred letters ל ג are visible above the middle of Line 8.

Eight line-ends are observed along the left side of the ostrakon (Figs. 2 [b], 3 [b]) and are separated by vacant space from the text on the ostrakon's right side (Figs. 2 [a], 3 [a]). The direction of the lines on the left side does not match that of the lines on the right side (Fig 3). Moreover, the script of the line-ends looks unified and differs from the irregular script of the text on the right side (for details see below). These observations indicate that the line-ends were written by a different scribe than the lines on the ostrakon's right side.

for all three see, *op. cit.* (above, n. 8). For Arad 16, see Mendel-Geberovich *et al.* 2017, *op. cit.* (above, n. 3).

<sup>11</sup> It seems that a long letter that exceeds the scope of the two sides of a large sherd would have been written on papyrus.



Only a few letters of the line-ends can be identified. The letters ע ב נ<sup>2</sup> are visible at the end of Line 2; the letters נ ע at the end of Line 5; the letters ע מ at the end of Line 6; the letters ע ב ל at the end of Line 7; and the letter ו at the end of Line 7. No letter can be traced below Line 8, and it seems that the early text ends here. The photograph shows that deep marks of the potter's wheel begin below Line 8, and this might be the reason why the scribe planned his text to stop in this place.

As suggested above, the fragmented early inscription on Side A was apparently the first part of the letter that continued on Side B of the ostrakon. Like the text on the reverse, the lines of the obverse ran from margin to margin, and hence their survival on the left edge of Side A. The later scribe erased most of the original text on Side A, but since he used only three quarters of the cleared surface, he left remnants of the original text on its left side. Moreover, the text he wrote was a draft produced for his own use, and hence systematic obliteration of all traces of the original inscription was not necessary.

In sum, the difference in the direction of the lines on the two sides of Arad 24A, the remarkable differences in the letter forms between the early and later texts and the scattered early letters that underlie the later text strongly support the assumption that a second scribe erased the early text and used the surface he cleared in order to write his own text.

### **The Text of the Later Scribe**

Unlike the clear and consistent script of the early letter, the script of the later text lacks clarity and consistency. The lines are curved and the letter forms are extremely inconsistent, so that gigantic letters appear side by side with letters of ordinary dimension (Figs 1-2).

As the text is badly eroded, I cannot present a running text of the whole inscription. In what follows I suggest a tentative transcription of the visible parts and a detailed commentary. I then propose an overall interpretation for the contents and purpose of the later text.

1. א/כל ע שע דִּי א [x x x x] ב בִּי ר/ו ת [(x)]
2. כסף 20 [ש?? לִי] מלך בִּי ל לִי תִי
3. ב [.....] חיל.
4. [.....] כסמם
5. דִּחֶן [.....] עבר
6. ויער [ם? x x ח] טה
7. הנִחֶי [x x x x] ודִּבֵּב
8. אר ובר [א?] רבע

**Line 1:** At first glance, the first letter looks like an *aleph* and was so read by Aharoni. Yet, in the new photographs the letter looks more like *kaph*, which gives a better sense to the text (כל, “total”).

The next sign looks like a Greek epsilon and is probably the hieratic sign ε. A similar sign appears in Arad Ostraca 1:7; 25:3; 31:10.<sup>12</sup> The sign was dealt with in detail by Wimmer,<sup>13</sup> who suggested that it marks a measure of *homer/kor* and its capacity is about 220 liters.

The letters שע are probably an abbreviated form of Hebrew שערם. Similar abbreviations are known from other ostraca from Arad. For example: ח for חטם (Arad 49:15-16);<sup>14</sup> קמ for קמה (Arad 8:2; 30:1-2; 112:1-2);<sup>15</sup> ש for שקל (Arad 65:1-2; 81:1).<sup>16</sup> See also the inscribed letters קב/ש in Arad 102-103 and the discussions of their interpretation by Cross and Aharoni.<sup>17</sup>

<sup>12</sup> Aharoni, 1981, op. cit. (above, n. 4), p. 12, 50-51, 56-57.

<sup>13</sup> S. Wimmer, *Palästinisches Hieratisch. Die Zahl- und Sonderzeichen in der althebräischen Schrift* (Ägypten und Altes Testament 75), Wiesbaden, Harrassowitz, 2008, p. 27, 39-40, 254-255.

<sup>14</sup> Aharoni, 1981, op. cit. (above, n. 4), p. 82; Dobbs-Allsopp et al., 2005, op. cit. (above, n. 8), p. 79

<sup>15</sup> Aharoni, 1981, op. cit. (above, n. 4), p. 23, 125; Dobbs-Allsopp et al., 2005, op. cit. (above, n. 8), p. 24, 59, 108.

<sup>16</sup> Aharoni, 1981, op. cit. (above, n. 4), p. 92, 101; Dobbs-Allsopp et al., 2005, op. cit. (above, n. 8), p. 90, 97; Aharoni's reading (ibid., p. 30-31) of a (שקל) ש in Line 5 of Arad 16 is erroneous. See Mendel-Geberovich et al., 2017, op. cit. (above, n. 3), p. 114, 117-118.

<sup>17</sup> F.M. Cross, “Two Offering Dishes with Phoenician Inscriptions from the Sanctuary of ‘Arad”, *BASOR* 285, 1979, p. 75-78; Aharoni, 1981, op. cit. (above, n. 4), p. 115-117 respectively.



In this light I suggest translating the beginning of Line 1: “total kor measure of barley”.

The rest of the line is either unclear, missing (about four letters), or blurred by the palimpsest and hence remains incomprehensible.

**Line 2:** The first letter is a large *kaph* written with either two or three “ears” (see photographs) and is followed by a large *samech* and a small *pe*. It renders כסף (“silver, money”). Its form is similar to the way the word כסף is rendered in Arad 16:8.<sup>18</sup>

The rendering of the next letter is uncertain. Tentatively (with a big question mark) it might be read as the hieratic numeral 20 (assuming that the lower stroke is round rather than straight). It is followed by two missing letters and then the title מלך (“king”) (already observed by Aharoni). Tentatively I suggest restoring [ש ל] in the break and read the first half of Line 2: “silver 20<sup>?</sup> [shekel<sup>?</sup> (ש) for/of<sup>?</sup> (ל)] the king”.

Next come four letters (ב ל ל ל ת) whose meaning is incomprehensible.

**Line 3:** The first part of the line (about seven letters) is incomprehensible. It ends with the letters חיל (“troop”), already observed by Aharoni.

**Line 4:** About 6 letters are missing and are followed by the word כסמם (“emmer”). The כֶּסֶם is mentioned in Exod 9:32, Isa 28:25 and Ezek 4:9 (בְּסִמִּים), always in the context of other kinds of grain (barley and wheat). This is the first time that כֶּסֶם is mentioned in an epigraphic text of the monarchical period.

**Line 5:** The first three letters might be read דחן (“millet”). Millet and emmer are mentioned together in Ezek 4:9a (“You, take some wheat, barley, beans, lentils, millet and emmer and put them into a single dish and make them into bread for yourself”). Like כֶּסֶם, this is the first time that דחן is mentioned in an epigraphic text of the monarchical period.

<sup>18</sup> Mendel-Geberovich et al., 2017, op. cit. (above, n. 3), p. 115, 119.

There is a space of about five letters after the assumed דחן, and it might have included the name of another kind of grain. The space is followed by the noun עֵבֶר, “yield, grain”, which appears for a second time in Line 10 of the Arad 31.<sup>19</sup> The noun עֵבֶר occurs once in the Bible, in Josh 5:11-12, where it appears in parallel to תְּבוּאָה, “yield, grain”. עֵבֶר is probably an overarching designation to all the grains that were listed in Lines 4-5.

**Line 6:** ויער[ם?] (and he piles) continues the theme of the previous line. About three letters are missing after the verbal form and are followed by the letters טה, whose restoration [ח]טה is *ad sensum*. A possible translation: “and he piles [over? it? w]heat”.

**Line 7:** The restoration הַנִּחַ<sup>3</sup> (“laid”) at the beginning of the line is guesswork. After a space of about four letters, the four letters ו ד ב ב appear; their meaning in this context remains obscure (דבב in biblical Hebrew means “move gently, glide”). A tentative translation: “he laid? ... and ...”.

**Line 8:** All nine letters in this line are large and, except for one that is missing,<sup>20</sup> are clear and readable. The text renders אר וּכר [א]רבע and may tentatively be translated, “four measures of אר and kor”. The main problem is the meaning of אר. With all due caution I suggest that it reflects the local pronunciation of the hieratic measure *khar*. *Khar* (“sack”) is an Egyptian measure of dry commodities<sup>21</sup> and is mentioned several times in the Arad ostraca (16: rev. 2; 25:2; 34:2; 46:4; 61:2).<sup>22</sup>

<sup>19</sup> Aharoni, 1981, op. cit. (above, n. 4), p. 56-58 translated Line 10 of Ostrakon 31, “46 ephahs of grain”. Lemaire (1977, op. cit. [above, n. 8], p. 199-202), translated it, “[t]otal (1) kor de grain”. In a similar manner. Wimmer (2008, op. cit. [above, n. 13], p. 39-41) translated it, “sie (sind) (הן) 1 Homer Getreide”.

<sup>20</sup> The letters ט ל that belong to the early text are visible above the missing letter.

<sup>21</sup> Wimmer, 2008, op. cit. (above, n. 13), p. 37, 45, 51.

<sup>22</sup> See Wimmer, 2008, op. cit. (above, n. 13), p. 264; Mendel-Geberovich et al., 2017, op. cit. (above, n. 3), p. 121.

## Discussion

The text on Side A is unique, with no parallel in the corpus of ancient Hebrew inscriptions. Its author might have been Elyashib, who supervised the storehouse of Arad. Seeking to make his registrations and calculations, he erased the obverse of an ostrakon available to him and wrote on the cleared surface. Since he used the ostrakon for his own needs, he did not bother writing his text in an orderly, careful manner. The result is an uneven text, written on about three quarters of the right side of the cleared surface.

The surface of the ostrakon is badly eroded, which makes its decipherment difficult. The palimpsest and the inconsistency in the form of the letters place additional obstacles in the way of decipherment. Nevertheless, some conclusions concerning the text under investigation may be drawn.

First, the text is an economic account and probably deals with the administration of the storehouse. It deals with various matters: supply of barley (Line 1), silver (Line 2) and different kinds of grain (Lines 4-7). It possibly concludes with a calculation of the overall amount of grain (Line 8).

Second, the text mentions only grains, whereas wine and oil, which are frequently referred to in the Arad ostraca, are absent. Beside an overall amount of barley in Line 1, the text possibly mentions emmer, millet and wheat. Other kinds of grains might have been enumerated in the eroded parts of the text (Lines 4-6). The grains are designated as a yield (עֲבָר), which was either brought to the storehouse or expended. The possible use of the verbs עָרַם ("pile) and נָוַח (הִנֵּחַ, "laid") fits also the economic contents of Lines 4-7.

Third, the text possibly mentions a payment of 20<sup>7</sup> shekel<sup>7</sup> silver to/for the king (Line 2). It also mentions troop (Line 3). Due to its fragmented state of preservation, it is impossible to give a coherent sense to these lines.

Fourth, assuming that אַר is indeed the pronunciation of Egyptian *khar* (which naturally is uncertain), the scribe summarized in the last line the amounts of grain referred to in the text.

Fifth, the ostrakon adds a few Hebrew terms for grains (בַּסֶּמֶם, דָּחַ), measures (אָר, בָּר), a verb (עָרַם) and an abbreviation (שַׁע for

שערם) so-far unattested in inscriptions dated to the monarchical period.

In sum, the text on Side A of Ostrakon 24 is unique within the corpus of monarchical Hebrew inscriptions. Although its decipherment is partial and its interpretation replete with difficulties and uncertainties, it adds a new kind of text – a draft of a personal account written by a local scribe – and some new information on the contents of the storehouse at Arad.

### **Part III: The King's Letter: Arad 24A as a Draft of Response to Arad 24B?**

*Eythan Levy and Shira Faigenbaum-Golovin*

#### **Introduction**

Ostrakon 24 has been described as “the most dramatic and gripping of all the many ostraca that have been found at Arad”.<sup>23</sup> It is a double-sided inscription, whose inner (concave) side is fully legible (called by Aharoni the “obverse” side), and whose outer (convex) side is almost totally illegible (Aharoni’s “reverse” side). The legible side (called here Arad 24B) contains an urgent command from the king of Judah to move troops from Arad and the nearby fort of Kinah to the city of Ramat-negeb in order to protect the latter from an upcoming Edomite attack. The urgency of the matter is stressed by the words, “And the word of the king is incumbent upon you for your very life!” (Lines 17-18), one of the very rare direct references to a king of Judah in Hebrew epigraphy. The other side of the ostrakon (called here Arad 24A) is barely legible to the naked eye (Fig. 1). Aharoni identified 28 of its letters (see Fig. 4), and read 5 words (above, Part II). He considered both sides of the ostrakon to be part of the same letter, beginning with the outer side (Arad 24A) and continuing on the inner side (Arad 24B). He believed that the

<sup>23</sup> Aharoni, 1970, op. cit., p. 16. Y. Aharoni, “Three Hebrew Ostraca from Arad”, *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 197, p. 16-42, p. 16-29

letter was addressed to Elyashib, quartermaster of the Arad fort and recipient of over a dozen other Arad letters.

We propose a new reading of Arad 24A based on multispectral imaging. Our renewed examination of the sherd has revealed dozens of signs not seen by Aharoni (Fig. 5), many of which are now identifiable with a fair degree of certainty. For the others, some of which might be non-alphabetic, we provide only attempted identifications. Though the number of clearly identified letters is not high enough to render a continuous reading of the text, we have gathered sufficient data to propose an alternative interpretation of Arad 24, suggesting—*contra* Aharoni—that this ostrakon is not related to the Elyashib archive, that Arad 24A and 24B are two distinct texts, and that Arad 24A is a draft of an answer to Arad 24B. The conclusion of two separate texts is also partly backed by ink clustering analysis.<sup>24</sup>

### Organization of the Sherd

Whereas the lines of Arad 24B are straight and regular, those of Arad 24A are not. Clearly, line 1 slopes downward to the left, following the curvature of the sherd's upper edge. This indicates that the upper part of Arad 24B is complete, with no missing fragments. This sloping orientation can also, though more mildly, be seen in the second line. An obvious difficulty is the letters located in the leftmost part of the ostrakon (Fig. 2 [b]). In some cases, they are roughly aligned with the letters on the right part (Fig. 2 [a]), but in other cases these letters seem completely misaligned, as for example at the end of Line 7. A possible explanation for these misaligned letters is that they might be part of a former layer of script (palimpsest), which was erased in order to make room for the main inscription visible on the right side (see Part II above). These letters are shown in the main facsimile (Fig. 5) but will not be addressed in the epigraphic discussion below.

<sup>24</sup> See S. Faigenbaum, I. Finkelstein and E. Piasetzky “Ink Separation in Multispectral Images of Iron Age Ostraca from Judah”, forthcoming.

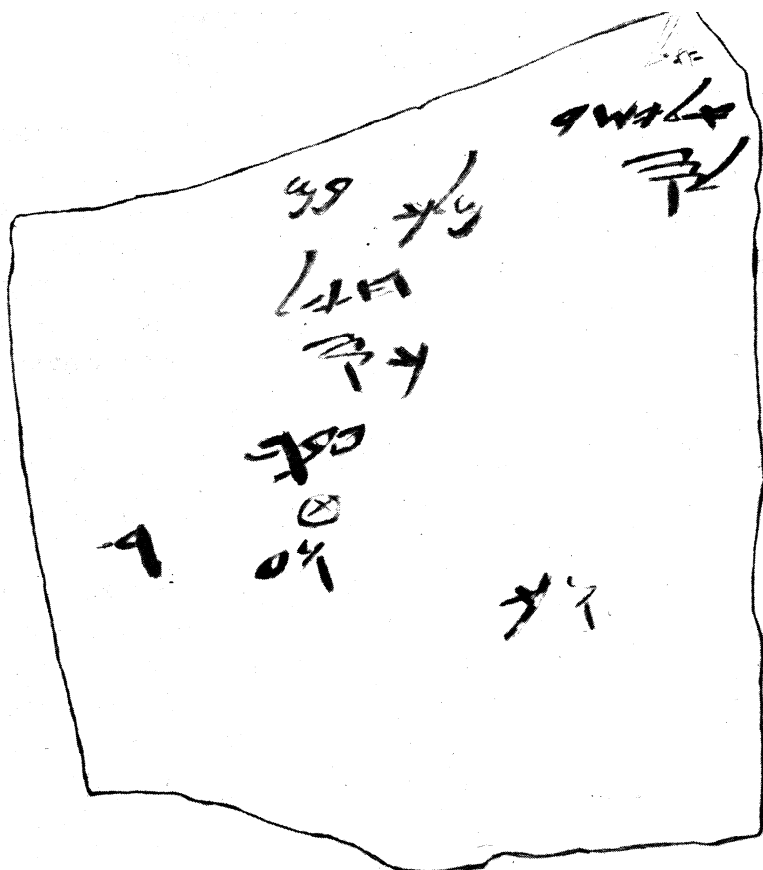


Fig. 4: Arad 24A, Aharoni's facsimile<sup>25</sup>.

<sup>25</sup> Aharoni, 1981, op. cit. (above, n. 4), p. 47.

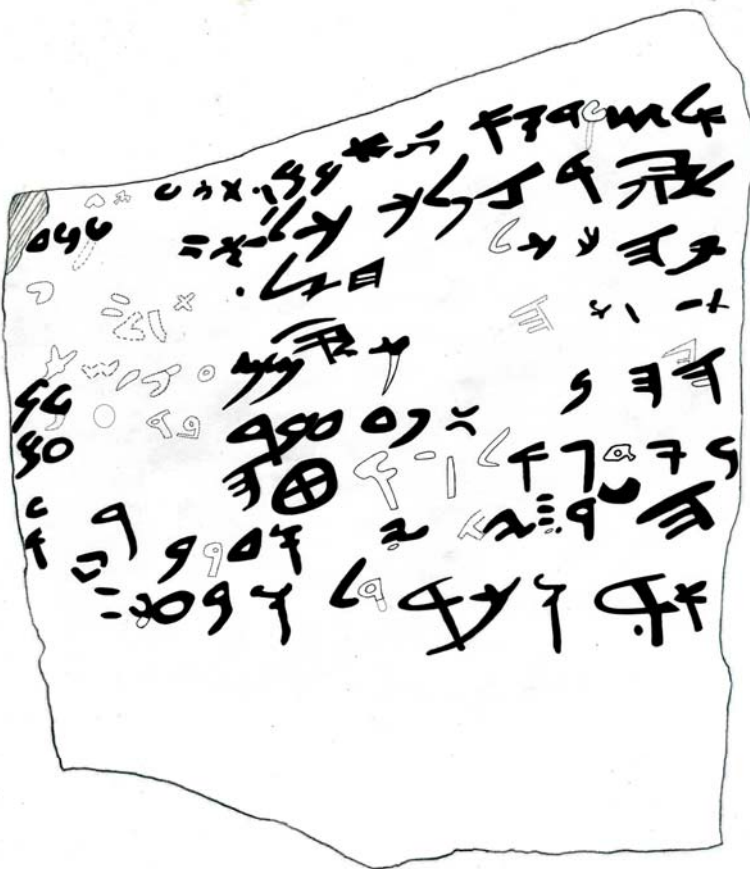


Fig. 5: Arad 24A: manual drawing (facsimile). Hollow shapes represent uncertain characters.

### Text Edition

This section presents our transliteration of the text, followed by a detailed examination of each line. Signs not seen by Aharoni are colored in red.

- |  |   |    |
|--|---|----|
| 1. $\text{ʾl š-}^? \text{dy}^? [ ] \text{z}^? \text{b/n m-tk}^?$ | אלש- $\text{ד}^? \text{יא} [ ] \text{ז}^? \text{א}^? \text{ב/נ-מ תכ}^?$ | 1. |
| 2. $\text{lsprhmlkkl}---$  | לספרהמלככל---   | 2. |
| 3. $\text{bh w}^? \text{k}^? \text{p}^? [ ] \text{hy l}$         | בהו $\text{ז}^? \text{כ}^? \text{ל}^? [ ] \text{חיל}$                   | 3. |

4.	y [] - w <sup>2</sup> [] h <sup>2</sup> [] ' / k s m m	י [ ] - ו <sup>2</sup> [ ] ה <sup>2</sup> [ ] א / כ ס מ מ	4.
5.	h h/h [] b/n [] t/z p <sup>c</sup> / d/r <sup>c</sup> b r	ה ה/ח [ ] ב/נ [ ] ת/ז פ/ע/ד/ר <sup>c</sup> ע ב ר	5.
6.	b y - g/5 ' l <sup>2</sup> -- t h	ב י - ג/5 א <sup>2</sup> -- ט ה	6.
7.	h d/r <sup>2</sup> ≡ y [] y [] w <sup>c</sup> [] b	ה ד/ר <sup>2</sup> ≡ י [ ] י [ ] ו <sup>c</sup> [ ] ב	7.
8.	' r w k r - l [] w b <sup>c</sup> d/r <sup>2</sup> = ?	א ר ו כ ר - ל [ ] ו ב ע <sup>c</sup> ד/ר <sup>2</sup> = ?	8.

### Line 0

We see no traces of the preposition ל ("to") seen here by Aharoni. These traces have either faded or, as we tend to believe, no letters stood originally at this spot.

### Line 1

ל<sup>2</sup> š - d y<sup>2</sup> [ ] z<sup>2</sup> ' b/n m - t k<sup>2</sup>      א ל ש - ד י<sup>2</sup> א<sup>2</sup> ז<sup>2</sup> א/ב/נ - מ ת כ<sup>2</sup>



Fig. 6: Line 1, image and facsimile.

We cannot confirm Aharoni's reading ל<sup>2</sup> y š b. The initial ל and l are clear, as is the following š. A curved stroke appears to the right of the š but the space after the l seems too small for an additional letter. After the š, shallow traces of an open round sign (possibly with a leg) hint at a possible additional letter. Follows a d (r or h seems less likely here), a y, an ל and a vacat or a lacuna. The next letter, possibly a z, is damaged. It is followed by a clear ל, a b or a n, and an



m. Then comes a diagonal stroke,<sup>26</sup> either part of a now somewhat effaced letter, or, if non-alphabetic, the hieratic numeral 1 or a diagonal abbreviation stroke. The next letter is a t, followed by the possible head of a k. The initial ׀ is most probably the preposition “to” introducing the letter’s recipient (cf. Arad 1-12, 17, 18, Lachish 2, 16).<sup>27</sup> An exhaustive search for biblical and Paleo-Hebrew anthroponyms yields no suitable name<sup>28</sup> after ׀, hence we posit a hitherto unattested name,<sup>29</sup> possibly preceded by a title. The remainder of the line is unclear and does not match standard lexemes known from openings of Paleo-Hebrew letters, such as wʿt (“and now”), šlh (“send”), šlm (“peace”) or brtkk (“I have blessed you”).

<sup>26</sup> The stroke is thinner than it looks in the black and white picture, as it is crossed by a diagonal stain (visible in the color picture).

<sup>27</sup> It is less likely that ׀ is part of a theophoric name, as known Paleo-Hebrew letters starting with the sender’s name are introduced by ׳mr (ʿAjrud 18, 19, Murabbaʿat) or a relational word (e.g. *bnk*, *bdk*, cf. Arad 16, 21, 40, Lachish 3).

<sup>28</sup> The search for anthroponyms was conducted using the SCRYPT software (available at <https://www.scryptapp.com/>; see also E. Levy and F. Pluquet, “Computer Experiments on the Khirbet Qeiyafa Ostrakon”, *Digital Scholarship in the Humanities* 32, 2017, p. 816-836) and Golub’s *onomasticon*, which records all anthroponyms in provenanced Iron Age Hebrew inscriptions (M.R. Golub, “A Digital Onomasticon: Personal Names from the Iron II Southern Levant”, 2018, <http://onomasticon.net>).

<sup>29</sup> Names ending in yʾ appear in late biblical books (1 Chr 4:16, 7:39, 8:9, 11:44 and Est 9:8) but not in provenanced Paleo-Hebrew inscriptions (see Golub, 2018, op. cit. (above, n. 28)). Other names ending in ׳ are epigraphically attested however (e.g. *mkʾ*, see Y. Shoham, “A Hebrew Seal and Seal Impressions”, in *Excavations in the City of David 1978–1985 Directed by Yigal Shiloh, Vol. VI: Inscriptions*, ed. T.D. Ariel, Jerusalem, The Hebrew University, 2000, p. 81–84), with the ׳ abbreviating a theophoric ending. An alternative would be a name ending in ׀, if we restore an effaced l in the space after the second ׳.

**Line 2**

l s p r h m l k k l ---

--- ל ס פ ר ה מ ל כ כ ל

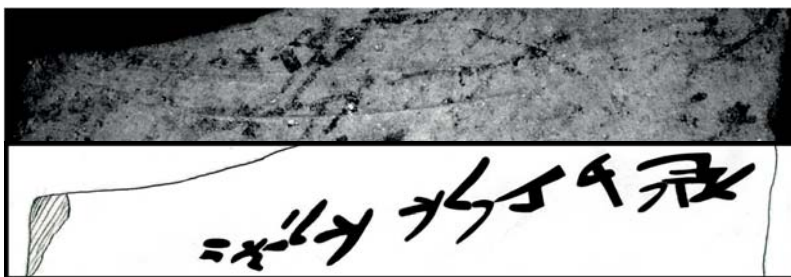


Fig. 7: Line 2, image and facsimile.

The initial *l* and *s* are clear, followed by shallow but visible *p* and *r*. The following *h* is preserved in its upper portion, before Aharoni's shallow but recognizable *m*, *l* and *k*. We then have a clear *k*, *l* and traces of three letters, the first possibly an *l*. The start of the line clearly spells *lspr hmlk* ("To the letter/scribe<sup>30</sup> of the king").<sup>31</sup> This expression, referring to a royal letter, is known from Lachish 6: *šlh ʾdny ʾ[t sp]r hmlk [wʾt] spry hšr[m]* ("my lord sent the king's [lette]r [and] the letters of the officer[s]"). The ensuing *kl* might then refer to "all" the contents of the royal letter.

**Line 3**

b h wʾ kʾ lʾ [ ] ḥ y l

ב ה ו' כ' ל' [ ] ח י ל

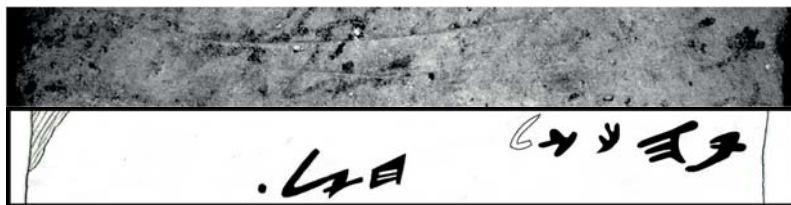


Fig. 8: Line 3, image and facsimile.

<sup>30</sup> For *spr hmlk* as a royal scribe, see 2 Kings 12:11, 2 Chr 24:11, Est 3:12, 8:9.

<sup>31</sup> The reading *spr* was also independently suggested by Renz, who transcribed here *lsʾpʾ[r - -] mlk* (J. Renz, 1995, op. cit. (above, n. 8), p. 391).

The first letter seems to be a *b* (less likely a *y*),<sup>32</sup> followed by a shallow but certain *h*. The next signs are very shallow: maybe the head of a *w*, the head of a *k*, and an *l*, thus possibly spelling *wkl* (“and all”), continuing the *kl* of the preceding line. After a lacuna comes Aharoni’s clear *hyl* (“combat, soldier”), followed by a dot.

#### Line 4

y [] - w<sup>?</sup> [] h<sup>?</sup> [] ?/k s m m

מ מ ס כ/א [] ?ה [] ?י - [] י



Fig. 9: Line 4, image and facsimile.

The first letter seems to be a *y*, followed by a long lacuna with possible traces of a diagonal stroke, the head of a *w* and an *h*. The next letter was identified by Aharoni as a *k* but its head also resembles an *?*. Aharoni’s subsequent *s* is certain, followed by two shallow *m*. With so few letters and no clear dividers, only speculations can be offered. If the central sequence starts a new word, *’sm* (“store-house”) comes to mind. Otherwise, *mks* (computation, tax) and *nks* (riches) are also possible guesses.

<sup>32</sup> Note that the horizontal line extending right of the vertical shaft is more typical of *y*, which would enable a reading *yhwkl*, a name well known in Paleo-Hebrew epigraphy (see Golub, 2018, op. cit. [above, n. 28]) and attested in Arad 21. The sign’s left-slanting tail is typical of *b* however and renders a reading *y* more difficult (but note that our scribe does sometimes produce spurious left-slanting tails, as in the *h* of Line 6).

**Line 5**

h h/h [ ] b/n [ ] t/ z p<sup>ʿ</sup>/d/r<sup>ʿ</sup> b r

ה ה/ח [ ] ב/ג [ ] ת/ז פ ע/ד/ר ע בר

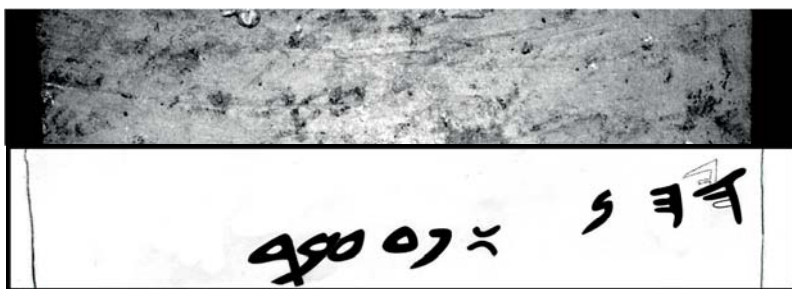


Fig. 10: Line 5, image and facsimile.

This line curves downward, as the scribe probably followed the curved wheel marks visible on the sherd. The first letter is an *h*, with additional traces of ink above it (erased letter? palimpsest?). The next letters are an *h* or a *h*, followed by a short space and a shallow *b* or *n*. After a lacuna, we have a shallow *t* or *z* (damaged by the wheel mark), a *p*, and an <sup>ʿ</sup> (or a partly effaced *d* or *r*). Then comes Aharoni's 'br ("to pass" [cf Arad 5, 24] or, alternatively "agricultural produce" [cf Arad 31, 111]), the only clear word that can be restituted in this line.

**Line 6**

b y - g/5<sup>ʿ</sup> l<sup>ʿ</sup> -- t h

ב י - ג/א ל<sup>ʿ</sup> -- ט ה

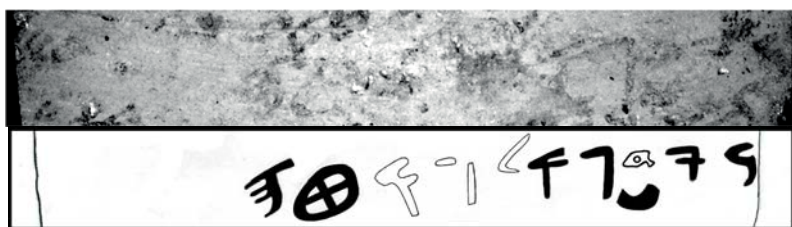


Fig. 11: Line 6, image and facsimile.

The first letter is a *b*, obscured by stains,<sup>33</sup> followed by a clear *y*. Then comes an irregular roundish sign, rendered tentatively in the facsimile. Under it lies a crescent-shaped sign, which might, or not, belong with it. The next sign is a large *g* or the hieratic numeral 5.<sup>34</sup> A clear *ʾ* follows and shallow traces of a possible *l*. The next signs are unclear and their renderings in our facsimile are tentative. We then have Aharoni's clear *ṭ*, and an unusual *h* with a left-slanting tail. Only speculative readings can be offered at this point. A cautious proposal for the start is *byd* ("in the hands of"), perhaps followed by a name based on the root *gʾl*<sup>35</sup> (see Lachish 9 and Arad 16, 17, 24B for *byd* introducing an individual). Alternatively, the fourth sign is a numeral followed by the preposition *ʾl* ("to") and a place-name (cf. "from Arad, 5" in Arad 24B). Examples of Judahite towns matching the ensuing *ṭ* and *h* are *ḥmṭh* (Jos 15:54), and *yṭh* (Jos 21:16). Another possibility for the last word is *ḥṭh* ("wheat") (cf. the plural form *ḥṭm* often attested in Arad).

### Line 7

h d/rʾ ≡ y [] y [] wʿ [] b

ב [] יו [] י [] י ≡ ʾ/ד/ה



Fig. 12: Line 7, image and facsimile.

<sup>33</sup> The shape of the letter's head and leg appears when examining the sign under diverse wavelengths.

<sup>34</sup> See the partly damaged numeral in Arad 24B, Line 1, which has been interpreted as 5 or 50. See Wimmer, 2008, op. cit. (above, n. 13), p. 35.

<sup>35</sup> The name *gʾl* appears on a Hebrew seal, see D. Ben-Ami and H. Misgav, "A Late Iron Age II Administrative Building Excavated in the City of Jerusalem", in *From Sha'ar Hagolan to Shaaraim: essays in honor of Prof. Yosef Garfinkel*, ed. S. Ganor, I. Kreimerman, K. Streit, and M. Mumcuoglu, Jerusalem, Israel Exploration Society, 2016, p. \*103–\*110 (Hebrew). For *gʾlyhw*, see Arad 16 and 39 (among others).

The first letter is a clear *h*. The next letter is badly preserved, probably a *r* or *d*. Then follow three short horizontal lines and a *y* followed by a *vacat* or a lacuna (see facsimile for possible additional traces). Then apparently comes a second *y*. After another *vacat* or a lacuna, comes a *w*, a *ʿ* and a *b*. The facsimile shows potential traces of a small sign before the *b*, possibly belonging to an earlier layer (palimpsest).

### Line 8

ʿ r w k r - l [ ] w b ʿ d / r ? =

= א ר ו כ ר - ל [ ] ו ב ע ʿ ד / ר ?



Fig. 13: Line 8, image and facsimile.

The initial ʿ is certain. Then comes a large and somewhat unusual *r*, with a possible divider under it. We concur with Aharoni's subsequent *w* and *k*. We then have a second *r*, followed by an unclear, possibly roundish, letter, and a clear *l*. After a small *vacat* (or lacuna), we have a *w*, a *b* and a large sign resembling a mathematical infinity symbol. It contains either two touching letters (ʿ followed by *d* or *r*?) or a non-alphabetic sign. Then follow two horizontal strokes, possibly the hieratic numeral 8.<sup>36</sup> Assuming a divider after the first *r* and a *vacat* after the *l* yields two sequences starting with *w*, possibly the conjunction "and". The second element would then be *kr-l*, which yields only 3 matches in biblical Hebrew: *krbl* ("bementle"), *krml* (Mount Carmel or town in Judah) and *krml* ("plantation", "fruit").<sup>37</sup> The Judahite town could offer a possible reading,

<sup>36</sup> These traces can also be understood as part of the two parallel wheel marks visible at the extremity of the sherd.

<sup>37</sup> An additional match, but in defective writing, would be *krmyl* (crimson, carmine).

as it is located near Zif, a town mentioned in Arad 17. The trouble here is that *m* seems a difficult match for the visible remains of the third letter. The initial letters *ʔr* do not seem to constitute a word on their own and might thus continue the *b* of the preceding line.<sup>38</sup> A toponymic reading *bʔr* could then be proposed, maybe an abbreviation for Beer-Sheva or for Baalath-beer (Jos 19:8). As for the final element introduced by the second *w*, it could, very tentatively, be read as *bʔr* (“in the town”), possibly followed by the hieratic numeral 8.<sup>39</sup> A list of toponyms followed by numerals finds a parallel in Arad 24B, which contains “from Arad 5, and from Kinah [...]”. The resulting reading, “Beer, and Carmel and in the town 8”, is admittedly speculative, despite the high number of readable letters.

## Conclusion

The new photographs show that, *contra* Aharoni, Arad 24A is not the start of 24B, as the two handwritings are different, a conclusion also backed by ink clustering analysis. Regarding decipherment, not much can be said with certainty, due to the inscription’s poor state of preservation. In addition to the words *hyl* and *ʔbr* already seen by Aharoni, only the syntagm *lspr hmlk* could be deciphered with a strong level of confidence. This expression is known from Lachish 6 (partly reconstructed, see above), where it refers to a previously received royal letter. Furthermore, all clear references to a letter (*spr*) in Paleo-Hebrew ostraca refer to letters previously sent or received.<sup>40</sup> We therefore propose that Arad 24A is a draft of an answer to the royal letter of 24B. Since royal letters are extremely rare in the Paleo-Hebrew corpus (Arad 24B and 88 being the only known cases), as is the expression *lspr hmlk* (known only from Lachish 6), their occurrence on both sides of the same sherd is

<sup>38</sup> Alternatively, the sherd’s concavity at the start of the line might imply an initial letter lost to erosion or break.

<sup>39</sup> The word “*ʔyr*” appears *plene* in Arad 24B and Lachish 4, but is defective at ‘Ajrud and on a bulla from Jerusalem (T. Ornan, S. Weksler-Bdolah, and B. Sass, “A ‘Governor of the City’ Seal Impression from the Western Wall Plaza Excavations in Jerusalem”, *Qadmoniot* 154, 2017, p. 100–103 [Hebrew]), both in the expression *lšr ʔr* (“Belonging to the governor of the city”).

<sup>40</sup> Cf. Dobbs-Allsopp et al., 2005, op. cit. (above, n. 8), p. 715.

probably not a coincidence, and hints at a strong link between the two texts. The hypothesis of a draft would also nicely account for the strong irregularities of the script, possibly featuring idiosyncrasies and abbreviations, which render the decipherment so difficult. It would also account for two other peculiarities. First, the text starts along the sherd's curved upper edge, as opposed to most ostraca, which start along a straight edge in order to induce straight lines of script. Second, the surface of Arad 24A is very rough, with many wheel marks, while scribes usually favor smoother surfaces, like that of Arad 24B. The scribe's choice of ignoring these two difficulties, rather than picking a straighter and smoother sherd, probably also hints at an organic link between the two sides. Finally, the practice of writing a follow-up to a given text on the sherd's verso is indeed attested at Arad (cf Arad 17). We thus conclude, with all due caution, that Arad 24A is a draft of an answer to 24B, and, like it, probably relates to a military context, as also hinted by the clear word *hyl* ("soldier", "combat") in Line 3.

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# The Lion Stamp Impressions from Judah: Typology, Distribution, Iconography, and Historical Implications. A Preliminary Report

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**Abstract.** *We examine here the typology, distribution, iconography and the historical-cultural implications of seal impressions depicting a lion as a lone motif stamped on handles of storage-jars from Judah. These seals were part of an administrative-economic network run by the governing authorities of Judah during the Babylonian rule and in the early phase of the Persian-Achaemenid rule of Judah. The type of storage jars and the very habit of stamping handles on such containers continued as a local administrative practice attested from the late eighth century to the second century in Judah. The current corpus is comprised of some 136 jar handles, a majority of which were found at Ramat Raḥel. Most stamped impressions were uncovered in hill country sites around Ramat Raḥel, Jerusalem, and Nebi-Samwil. They were stamped by ten types of actual seals that are divided thematically to three major groups. The lions represented on these thematic sealings' types alluded to Yahweh and most probably served as a stand-in of the god of Israel worshiped in Jerusalem.*

**Résumé.** *Nous examinons ici les typologie, distribution, iconographie et implications historico-culturelles d'empreintes de sceaux sur anses de jarres judaïtes dont le seul motif est un lion. Ces sceaux faisaient partie intégrante d'un réseau administratif et économique durant la domination babylonienne et au début de l'époque achéménide. Le corpus actuel compte quelque 136 anses, dont la majorité a été exhumée à Ramat Raḥel. La plupart ont été découvertes dans les collines autour de Ramat Raḥel, Jérusalem et Nebi-Samwil. Dix types de sceaux sont attestés, répartis en trois principaux groupes thématiques. Les lions qui figurent sur ces types font allusion à Yahvé et servaient probablement de substitut au dieu d'Israël vénéré à Jérusalem.*

## Introduction

Lion stamp impressions from Judah found on storage-jar handles or sides have been known for over 100 years, since the discovery of the first such stamp impression in Jericho (Sellin and Watzinger 1913: 159 and Pl. 42n). Yet until the early 1970s, the stamps were not studied as an independent phenomenon.<sup>1</sup>

The storage jars bearing lion stamp impressions are very similar in shape to the rosette stamped storage jars found in many late Iron Age sites in Judah, but their clay and firing are of lower quality. In some cases, their handles have a ridge, and they are made of yellowish clay that bears a resemblance to Persian period storage-jar handles with *yhwd* stamp impressions. Some handles have two ridges and are made of reddish-brown clay, reminiscent of late Iron Age storage-jar handles. These storage jars, with or without lion stamp impressions, were not uncovered in any destruction layer from the end of the First Temple period (586 BCE). Even in Ramat Raḥel, where the majority of the handles with lion stamp impressions were discovered (following), not a single handle was recovered from constructional fills used as courtyard and building foundations from the first and second construction stages, assigned to the 7th and early 6th century BCE. Yet 11 handles with lion stamp impressions were uncovered during the renewed excavations of Ramat Raḥel, all were found in the fill covering the foundation trenches and the garden in the western part of the site. These findings demonstrate that the lion stamp impression system began after the second building phase at Ramat Raḥel, i.e., not before the early 6th century BCE (Gadot 2010: 8–10; Aharoni 1962: 34). The dating of the lion stamp impression system to the period following the use of the rosette stamp impressions of the late 7th–early 6th century BCE, and preceding the *yhwd* stamp impressions that began in the late 6th century BCE is further bolstered by petrographic analysis of the storage jars (Gross and Goren 2010), by paleomagnetic research (Ben-Yosef *et al.* 2017), by the study of the lion motif (Ornan 2010; Sass 2010; Sass and Marzahn 2010; Lipschits 2011: 62–

<sup>1</sup> The Judah Lion Stamp Impressions project was supported by The Israel Science Foundation (588/08).

63, and see below), and by paleographic consideration of two private names stamped alongside lion stamp impressions before firing on the body of two jars excavated at Ramat Raḥel (Richey, Vanderhooft, and Lipschits, forthcoming).

All this evidence suggests that contrary to the traditional view prevalent among scholars that the lion stamp impressions should be dated to the Early Persian Period (late 6th–early 5th century BCE) and that they constitute evidence for the first phase of Persian rule in Judah (Stern 1982: 210–212; 2001: 541, but cf. to Williamson’s arguments 1988: 60–64), they in fact began earlier within the 6th century BCE (Lipschits and Ornan 2010; Lipschits 2011: 68–71). This dating has far-reaching implications for the reconstruction of the history of Judah following the destruction of the First Temple (and cf. to Lipschits 2011).

In the following preliminary study on Judah’s Lion Stamp Impressions we present: (1) The typology of the missing original, actual seals, which have not reached us, according to their shapes and the form of their depicted lions. (2) An updated short brief of the sum of the stamp impressions. (3) A distribution analysis of the stamp impressions, followed by a table summarizing the relations of the seals’ types with the sites in which the stamp impressions were recovered. (4) A reevaluation of the seals’ lion motif as found on their impressions, dealing with its meaning and sources of inspiration.

## **I. Typology of the Seals’ Types According to their Form and Features**

According to the type of animal depicted on the lion stamp impressions, Stern (1971b: 9–10) proposed three main types of the impressions: (1) A lion in various positions; (2) A lion standing on its hind legs, with its forepaws outstretched to the sides, alongside an object (which Stern interpreted as an altar) beneath its front left leg; (3) A depiction of a bull’s head with a solar orb between its horns (first suggested by Aharoni 1962: 10, 34).

The new corpus of lion stamp impressions made it possible, for the first time, to identify its main features and to define the various

types (i.e. seals). Although the study of these stamp impressions is still ongoing, this detailed typology makes it possible not only to define the characteristics of each type's distribution, but to also identify the main sites wherein they occur.

So far we can discern eight main types of the now-missing seals, with two notable sub-types:

1. Lion bending forward
2. Lion and solar disk
- 3a. Lion striding to the left
- 3b. Lion striding to the left
4. Schematic lion facing left
- 5a. Schematic lion facing right
- 5b. Schematic lion facing right
6. Lion striding to the right
7. Lion bending forward—square stamp impression
8. Standing lion

## **II. An Updated Sum of Lion Stamp Impressions from Judah**

Ephraim Stern was the first to compile a comprehensive corpus of lion stamp impressions on the basis of all the evidence available in the late 1960s. On the basis of this data he discussed the typology, distribution, origin, stratigraphy, and chronology of these stamp impressions, as well as their symbolic significance (Stern 1971; 1982: 209-212). Stern's corpus consisted of 66 lion stamp impressions, 45 of which (ca. 68% of all the finds) were found in Ramat Raḥel. Six additional stamp impressions from his corpus were found in Jerusalem, five in Tell en-Naṣbeh, five in En-Gedi, two in Gibeon and one each in Jericho, Moza, and Shechem.<sup>2</sup> On the basis of their distribution, Stern identified the clear Judahite nature of the lion stamp impressions: only one of the 66 stamp impressions was found beyond the borders of Judah.

<sup>2</sup> Stern (1971: 8, n. 15; 1982: 210–212; 2007: 254) mentions an additional stamped handle, found on the slopes of modern Mevasseret Yerushalayim, but it was never published.

Today, after the publication of most of the excavations conducted since the 1960s until recent years, some 136 handles with lion stamp impressions have come to light. Of these, 73 are from Ramat Raḥel (ca. 54% of all finds),<sup>3</sup> 31 from Jerusalem (ca. 23%),<sup>4</sup> 13 from Nebi Samwil (ca. 9.5%),<sup>5</sup> five from En-Gedi,<sup>6</sup> five from Tell en-Naṣbeh,<sup>7</sup> three from Rogem Gannim,<sup>8</sup> two from Gibeon,<sup>9</sup> two from Khirbet er-Ras,<sup>10</sup> and one each from Jericho<sup>11</sup> and Shechem.<sup>12</sup>

<sup>3</sup> In his excavations at Ramat Raḥel, Aharoni reported on 47 lion-stamped handles, but actually he found 52 (Lipschits and Koch 2016). Aharoni found seven stamped handles in his 1954 season (Aharoni 1956: 147, Pl. 25: 7–9), 11 in his 1959 season (Aharoni 1962: 10, Fig. 9: 9–12, Pl. 8: 6), 12 in his 1960 season (ibid.: 34, Pl. 30: 7–9), ten in his 1961 season (Aharoni 1964: 22, Pl. 21: 1–3, 6) and seven in his 1962 season (ibid.: 45–46, Pl. 21: 4–5). Only a small number of these handles were fully published by Aharoni, and most of the others were only mentioned briefly in the publications. Based on the documentation of 29 lion stamp impressions, the photographs of 48, and the finds in different storages and museums, Koch and Lipschits (2016) were able to document in details the majority of the lion handles that were discovered by Aharoni. In the new excavations conducted at the site between 2004 and 2010, 21 more lion stamp impressions were discovered (Lipschits and Koch, forthcoming), bringing the number of lion stamp impressions at Ramat Raḥel to 73.

<sup>4</sup> Duncan (1931: 142–143) reported six handles with lion stamp impressions in a dump with Persian period finds, below *yhd* stamp impressions; Tushingham (1985: 37, Fig. 19: 11–12) reported two more; Ariel and Shoham (2000: 141–143) reported an additional 23 handles from Shiloh's Areas D, E, and G.

<sup>5</sup> On the lion stamped handles from Nebi Samwil, see Magen and Har-Even 2007: 44–45, nos. 19–31.

<sup>6</sup> For the lion handles from En-Gedi, see Stern 2007d: 253, Photo 5.6.3.1.

<sup>7</sup> See McCown 1947: 154 and Fig. 35:2,3,4,5. Note that McCown's numbers 1 and 6–7 are not lion stamp impressions, as opposed to Stern's classification (1971b: 7).

<sup>8</sup> Barkay found the first lion stamp impressed handle from Rogem Gannim (1985: 387). Two more were found in Greenberg and Cinamon's excavations (2006: 234, Fig. 3, D1, D2).

<sup>9</sup> Two handles with lion stamp impressions were found in the Gibeon's water pool; see Pritchard 1961: 20 and Fig. 46: 533, 556.

<sup>10</sup> Feig 2016; Zehavi 1991; Gadot, personal communication.

<sup>11</sup> See: Sellin and Watzinger 1913: 159 and Pl. 42n.

<sup>12</sup> See: Campbell and Wright 2002: 25, Fig. 14.

### III. Distribution: Types and Sites

The distribution of the lion stamp impressions indicate that the vast majority of stamp impressions were uncovered in hill country sites around Ramat Raḥel, Jerusalem, and Nebi-Samwil, with only two unique finds of single stamped handles in Jericho and Shechem (which is far north of the borders of the province of Judah). The absence of Shephelite sites further demonstrates that the Judahite Shephelah is not represented in regards to distribution at all.

Ramat Raḥel is the undisputed center of this system, with an unprecedented concentration of impressed handles in one place (54% of all excavated finds), in comparison to any other historical period in which stamp-impressed handles were used. Additionally, 117 of the 136 lion stamp impressions (ca. 86% of all the finds) were only uncovered in three sites—Ramat Raḥel, Jerusalem, and Nebi Samwil. In all the other sites, the number of stamp impressions uncovered is drastically less; moreover, none of them offered more than a single stamp impression of any one type. One may deduce therefore, that Ramat Raḥel was the main or only collection center in the system of lion stamp impressions, with Jerusalem and Nebi Samwil as secondary administrative centers.

All the sites in which lion stamp impressions have been recovered were also settled at the end of the Iron Age, and also included rosette stamp impressions amongst their finds (Lipschits 2018: 82-90). Not all sites continued to exist in the Persian period. The Benjamin region in particular shows a large decline in this period, with hardly any *yhwd* stamp impressions uncovered there (Lipschits and Vanderhooft 2011: 57). This further strengthens the dating of the rosette stamp impressions to the late Iron Age and highlights the changes that took place between the lion stamp impression system of the 6th century BCE and the *yhwd* stamp impression system, which began at the end of this century, when Judah came under imperial Persian rule. In addition, a comparison of the distribution of lion stamp impressions to that of the earlier rosette stamp impressions points to a major decline in the status of Jerusalem (36% of the rosette impressions uncovered, compared to only 22.5% of the lion impressions) and to a significant rise in the status of Ramat Raḥel (20% of the rosette impressions, compared to 54% of the lion

impressions). A comparison of the distribution of the lion stamp impressions to the early types of the subsequent *yhwd* stamp impressions shows a continuation of the same trend: over 70% of the stamp impressions were discovered in Ramat Raḥel, whereas Jerusalem further declined in importance (ca. 13% of the corpus). Nebi Samwil, Jericho, and En-Gedi also continued to be part of this system, but with only two or three stamp impressions uncovered in each site (Lipschits 2018: 104-115).

All the differing types of the lion stamp impressions are represented at Ramat Raḥel, in most cases by a large number of impressions, especially of seal types 1, 2, 3a, 3b, with 85%-100% of the finds,<sup>13</sup> but also more than 50% of the finds of types 4, 7 and 8,<sup>14</sup> and only 25%-40% of types 5a, 5b and 6.<sup>15</sup> Jerusalem is represented in only five of the ten sub-types, and only in two types (5b and 7) does it have around 40% of the finds (with nine of the 21 impressions of type 5b and 4 out of 10 impressions of type 7). Only four sub-types of the original seals were found at Nebi Samwil, and only in one (Type 5a) does it have a clear majority (with seven of the 15 impressions of this type, 47% of the finds). Impressions of lion seal types 5a, 5b and 7 were found in relatively large quantities, and a significant number of these impressions were recovered at Ramat Raḥel (5 out of 15 of type 5a, 10 out of 25 stamp impressions of type 5b and 5 out of 10 of type 7). On these grounds and given the large number of lion stamp impressions in general found at Ramat Raḥel, we postulate that this was the main collection center of lion-stamped storage jars, which functioned along with small production centers, such as Rogem Gannim and Khirbet er-Ras, and secondary administrative centers, such as Jerusalem and Nebi Samwil. It seems that the presence of such a meaningful number of lion stamp impressions in Jerusalem is another indication for the continued existence of the city after the 586 BCE destruction, probably during all the "Exilic" period, with a decline in the status of the city — at least on the basis of the administrative use of the stamped jars — during the early Persian period (late 6<sup>th</sup> and early 5<sup>th</sup> century

<sup>13</sup> In Ramat Raḥel there is 92% of type 1, 100% of type 2, 85% of type 3a, 86% of type 3b.

<sup>14</sup> In Ramat Raḥel there is 56% of type 4, 50% of type 7, and 56% of type 8.

<sup>15</sup> In Ramat Raḥel there is 33% of type 5a, 40% of type 5b, and 25% of type 6.

BCE). The table below summarizes the sites in which the discussed impressions were found in relation to their seals' types.

*A Table of Lion Stamp Impressions According to Seal Types and Sites*

Type	Ramat Raḥel	Jerusalem	Nebi Samwil	Tel en-Nasbeh	En-Gedi	Rogem Gannim	Gibeon	Khirbet er-Ras	Jericho	Shechem	Total Sum
1 Lion bending forward	12					1					13
2 Lion and solar disk	10										10
3a Lion striding to left	11	2									13
3b Lion striding to left	6				1						7
4 Schematic lion facing left	5	1		1	1		1				9
5a Schematic lion facing right	5	3	7								15
5b Schematic lion facing right	10	9	3					1	1	1	25
6 Lion striding to right	1		1		1	1					4
7 Lion bending forward: square stamp impression	5	4			1						10
8 Standing lion	5	1	1				1	1			9
Unidentified	3	11	1	4	1	1					21
Total	73	31	13	5	5	3	2	2	1	1	136

#### IV. The Meaning and Source of Lion Motif Inspiration

From an iconographic point of view, the lion's stamp impressions can be divided into three main thematic groups. This division differs from the suggested number of the types of the (now-missing) actual seals whose impressions have reached us discussed above (I Typology). The three subject-matter groups show: (1) A lion standing, striding, or bending, facing right or left, rendered schematically or non-schematically (Fig. 1a, sealing from Ramat Raḥel). (2) A lion similar to that of group 1 with a circle above its head; often shown with legs widely splayed (Fig. 1b, sealing from Ramat Raḥel). (3) A right-facing lion standing on its hind legs while extending its fore legs asides, accompanied with a human head and, at times, with a hand (Fig 1c, sealing from Ramat Raḥel).



An intriguing issue concerning the three thematic groups of the lion depicted on these stamp impressions — yet insufficiently addressed in modern discussions — is their meaning within a Judahite context, and the reasons for the selection of the beast as the sole or major motif on the stamp seals employed by the administrative system of Judah from the early 6th century BCE and later, under the short period of the Babylonian rule and continuing into the early phase of the Persian rule.

The impressions depicting the lions standing or striding (group 1), or with a circle over their heads (group 2) essentially do not present a new iconographic pictorial theme, as renderings of similar lions (though without the circular appendage) are found in Iron IIB period glyptic imagery in Judah (Keel and Uehlinger 1998: 386, #223). Moreover, the depiction of similar lions on Hebrew-inscribed seals further corroborates the assumption that the lion was a typical Judahite motif prior to the late 6th century (Sass 1993: 221; Ornan, Weksler-Bdolah, Kisilevitz, Sass 2012: 5\*–8\*). The lions presented in groups 1 and 2 can, thus, be viewed as a continuation of a previous iconographic tradition of Judah. Yet, the representations of a standing or striding lion as a sole or a main motif in contemporary Assyrian iconography (e.g. Herbordt 1992: pl. 19) suggest that the Iron IIB period iconography of lions in Judah may have combined a local tradition with an Assyrian inspiration. With regard to our group 2, typified by lions with a circle above their heads, the latter feature is found only on the items dated to the early to late 6th century BCE discussed here.

Glyptic items depicting a sole lion are attested in Iron Age I from further north in the Southern Levant, including the Kingdom of Israel (Ornan, Weksler-Bdolah, Kisilevitz, Sass 2012: 6\*). A notable exemplar of which is the Hebrew inscribed (now-missing) stamp seal of *sm' 'bd yrb'm* from Megiddo that belonged to an official of Jeroboam II King of Israel (Lamon and Shipton 1939: Pls. 67:52; 72: 11). As the Israelite and the other northern lions' glyptic items begun earlier than those from Judah, we may consider the employment of the lion motif in the glyptics of Judah as a result of northern Southern Levantine inspiration, probably mainly from the Kingdom of Israel (compare a similar direction of inspiration regarding other genres of artistic workmanship Ornan 2016: 290).

The motif of the lion is one of the most common images in the art of the ancient Near East (Buchholz 2005; Strawn 2005). Its recurring and multivalent symbolism, indeed, deserves its modern tagging as a timeless motif that, obviously, frames the decoding of its comprehension a difficult task. The meaning of the beast's presentations as a sole or a major motif can be inferred however, when examined in relation to another popular ancient Near Eastern pictorial motif of the beast as a divine mount of major deities. The most common display of this motif is the portrayal of Ishtar mounted on a lion, known from the latter part of the 3rd millennium BCE onward. First millennium BCE renderings include for example, the stele from Til-Barsip (Tell Aḥmar) (located on the Euphrates south of the modern Turkish-Syrian border) inscribed with an Akkadian dedication to Ishtar of Arbela, and a late 8th–7th century BCE 'Assyrianized' silver plaque from Tel Miqneh/Ekron, on the southern eastern edge of Israel's littoral (Ornan 2001: 238, 240–242, 246–249 with previous bibliography). Yet, monumental examples of the lion as a divine mount for male deities are also known from 8th–6th centuries BCE Levantine steles: from the sanctuary at Jebel Qadbun (located between Arwad and Hamath), and Amrit (which possibly originated in Tell Kazell on the Syrian-Lebanese border) (Warmenbol 1983: 69–70, Pl. VIIc ll; Gubel 2002: 51–53; Strawn 2005: 125, figs. 4.221, 4.224). The lion as a divine podium appears then, alongside both major male and female divinities (Strawn 2005: 125).

As proposed by Wiggermann, the mounting of major deities on fantastic hybrids succinctly conveys a primordial triumph of a given deity over his/her mythical rival, which transformed the latter into a subordinate 'servant' of the former. A further thematic 'phase' "resulting" from the latter conceptualization is the representation of a triumphant god or a goddess by only his/her defeated hybrid foe, which functions as her/his stand-in (Wiggermann 1994: 26–27; Maul 2000: 37–38).

By implication, a similar explanation fits the rendering of the lion as a divine mount on the one hand, and as an animal symbolizing a divine (anthropomorphic) deity, on the other hand (Ornan, Weksler-Bdolah, Kisilevitz, Sass 2012: 7\*–8\*). Depictions of deities standing on lions and concurrently holding lions (such as rendered

on the stele from Amrit noted above) further corroborate the proposal that when the lion is shown as a single motif it represents a major deity.

That both imaginary hybrids and animals of the real world were regarded by the ancient inhabitants of the Near East as stand-ins for major deities can be deduced, for example, from the mount and symbol of Marduk, head of the Babylonian pantheon depicted alongside the bull, the mount and symbol of the storm god Adad on the unglazed and glazed phases of the bricked 'Ishtar Gate' (Watanabe 2015), built by Nebuchadnezzar II at the early 6th century BCE at Babylon.

In modern scholarship the lion is often associated with the king and kingship (Buchanan and Moorey 1988:40; Seidl 1989: 139; Keel and Uehlinger 1998: 269; Strawn 2005: 104, 125; Nadali 2009-2010: 215, 222, 230; Sass and Marzahn 2010:179–180 with bibliography). Indeed, lion imagery was no doubt, a most prominent component means of royal ideology and its propaganda. However, this does not entail that when rendered visually the beast was conveyed as a metaphor of the king. Interpreting an image of a lion as a stand-in or a symbol of the king raises difficulties, in particular, since in the art of the ancient Near East, in contrast to Egypt, royal figures referring to a living king are not depicted through theriomorphic pictorial representations. Rather, in the ancient imagery of the Near East the use of animals as pictorial metaphors seems to be restricted to the symbolic representations of supernatural entities such as gods and goddesses.

The replacement of images of major deities by the their former theriomorphic or hybrid rivals characterizes ancient Near Eastern divine imagery during the first half of the first millennium, in particular in Babylonia during the 7th–5th centuries BCE in both monumental and miniature works of art, mainly features on seals and sealings (Ornan 2005a: 60–72, 115–132). For our concern here, i.e., the lion as a sole motif, it is worth mentioning that rows of repetitive striding lions (representing Ishtar) are shown on the contemporary glazed-bricks' walls flanking the Processional Way called *Ištar-sakīpat-tebiša* (Ishtar who destroys her enemies), leading south from the Ishtar Gate to the sacred enclosure of Marduk (the

*e-temenanki*), and in Nebuchadnezzar's II throne room in the Northern palace (Watanabe 2015: 218–219. For depictions of striding lions in Neo-Babylonian art see Lambert and Zilberg 2017).

The two different compositions of the lion imagery: i.e., a single lion, and the beast as a mount of a deity, are also attested in Judah and its surroundings. Following Wiggermann, this enables the unfolding of a thematic link between the two compositions. Alongside Iron Age IIB glyptic items showing the lion as a sole motif (e.g. a seal from Tell en-Naṣbeh: McCown 1947:150, 296, Pl. 55: 74), an impression of a stamp seal on a pottery shard of a rim from Tell en-Naṣbeh (north of Jerusalem) shows a lion podium, above which stands a human-form god (McCown 1947:153–154, 297, Pl. 55: 81). The lion mount on the rim's impression is positioned above a hilly landscape, recalling the motif rendered below 'the god-on-a-lion' on the Amrit stele (mentioned above).

Based on the similar pattern of the thematically connected two 'lion imagery' compositions from Judah, in conjunction with the essential tendency of ancient Near Eastern art to represent deities by their theriomorphic stand-ins, the lion as a sole motif in 8th–7th century BCE Judah probably represented a major deity. The Judahite find spot alongside the Hebrew script and names that appear on some of the Iron IIB glyptic lion items, support the proposal that the beast in these instances is related to Yahweh (Ornan, Weksler-Bdolah, Kisilevitz, Sass 2012: 7\*; compare Keel and Uehlinger 1998: 191). Considering that the continuous tradition of the Judahite administrative system manifested through the endurance of the type of its storage jars and their impressed handles, we suggest that the lions presented in group 1 of the early to late 6th century BCE seal impressions also represented Yahweh; those shown in group 2 having a circle over their heads interpreted as a sun disc, may have represented a specific aspect of Yahweh of Zion as suggested by Keel and Uehlinger (1998: 389).

However, the lions comprising our thematic group 3, depicting the beasts standing on their hind legs while extending their front legs aside, seem to stem from another visual tradition, which previously was not found in Judah. Similar postures of standing lions are in particular attested to by a group of large circular Neo-Assyr-

ian seal impressions (whose actual seals have not survived) employed in the Empire's administration, dubbed in modern scholarship Office, Palace, or State seals (Winter 2000. Radner 2008. Nadali 2009-2010). On these seal impressions the lion stands on its hind legs; its fore legs extend aside, while the Assyrian king stabs it. Such seals were used in the administrative network of the Neo-Assyrian Empire from the mid-9th–7th century BCE (Nadali 2009-2010: 215), and their impressions found in the capitals of Assyria, including one item discovered at Samaria (Reisner, Fisher, Gordon 1924: 378, pl. 56a). The visual theme on these impressions showing the Assyrian king subjugating a lion transmitted the message of royal power (Nadali 2009-2010). However, in addition to the meaning of the display of these Office sealing as demonstrating the royal power it is demonstrated – by the very submission of the lion who is also the subdued rival of Ishtar as conveyed by her mounting on the beast – that the lion here is also the defeated foe of the goddess. Thus, by subjugating the lion the king also vanquishes the rival of Ishtar (Ornan 2014: 589). Through this visual trope, then, the king was elevated 'as-if' a secondary divine figure who kills the goddess's adversary – the lion – for her sake (Ornan, Weksler-Bdolah, Kisilevitz, Sass 2012: 6\*).

The theme became an icon of the Neo-Assyrian royal propaganda as demonstrated by both the glyptic finds and its varied compositional layouts found in the monumental palaces' décor of Ashurnasirpal and Ashurbanipal (Nadali 2009-2010, in particular Watanabe 2018: 222–223, figs. 238, 244). Yet with the rise of the Babylonian Empire, this powerful Neo-Assyrian theme disappeared, at least on finds from Babylonia. Though uniquely, the theme of the (Babylonian) king subduing a standing lion with its fore legs extend aside (following the Assyrian prototype) is found among the Lebanese rock reliefs at Wadi Brisa in the north of the Bīqā' Valley and at Wadi as-Saba, located some 50 km from the former (Sass 2010: 179. Da Riva 2010: 168, 178–179). Similar renderings of the standing defeated lion continued into Persian-Achaemenid glyptics (e.g. Garrison 2010: 155, fig. 10 from the Persepolis Fortification archive).

The possible Judahite 'borrowing' of the standing lions on group 3 impressions from the monumental Babylonian sculptured

rock reliefs (first noticed by Sass 2010), distinguishes these impressions from those of groups 1 and 2, in that they appear to be inspired by a Levantine-Babylonian version of the original Neo-Assyrian subject-matter, rather than a continuation of an earlier local motif. Moreover, Judahite imagery in this case was selective in its borrowing, and the reception of the Babylonian version of the 'Assyrian King killing a standing lion' had to fit the local needs and norms, as is attested in other cases of cultural borrowing and reception (Eco 1976: 71–72). Indeed, two major iconographic modifications were executed within the 'borrowing process' of the theme in the early to late 6th century BCE Judah. One is the omission of the king from the impressions, leaving only the standing lion as a major motif. The second is the addition of the accompanied motifs of a human head and, at times, a hand.

The removal of the king from the Judahite impressions inevitably signals a thematic modification. This implies that the lion was not perceived as a 'negative' threatening rival, as was conveyed by the Assyrio-Babylonian subject matter. Rather, by turning it into a large and major motif, the standing lion became a 'positive' signifier of power (compared to a Neo-Assyrian sealing from Nineveh on which a sole image of a standing lion is depicted along with a human head, Herbordt 1992: pl. 19:1–2, 6). Furthermore, since the beast shown on the impressions of groups 1 and 2 continued an earlier tradition that conceived the lion as a metaphor of Yahweh, it stands to reason that the lion standing on its hind legs also had a similar meaning, as it was part and parcel of the same iconographic-administrative framework. The Judahite standing lion on the impressions of group 3 was 'upgraded', then, by transforming it from a defeated divine rival into a major motif, selected to be depicted alongside the standing and marching lions of groups 1 and 2, possibly hinting to a specific role of Yahweh. The added features accompanying the standing lion i.e., the human head and hand, suggest the beast of group 3 impressions may have alluded to Yahweh as a warrior deity, whose defeated (human) rivals represented the dead enemies of Israel, symbolized by the dismembered human organs of a head and a hand. This metaphor matches a common ancient Near Eastern pictorial trope of dead enemies echoed in Deut. 33, 20: וְלִגְדֵּי אֹמֶר בְּרוּדִי מִרְחִיב גֹּד כְּלָבִיָּא שְׂכֹן וְטָרֵף זֶרַע

:אֶל־יָדָיו־גָּד ("he [Gad] dwelleth as a lion, and teareth the arm with the crown of the head" (see Sass and Marzahn 2010: 180–182, and note 250).

The theme of the lion as a sole motif in our thematic groups 1 and 2 followed, as noted above, local traditions already attested in Judah during the Iron IIB period. Notwithstanding, transforming this motif into a theme selected for Judah's administrative system during the Babylonian period seems a conscious choice, one that matched the imagery of the current foreign sovereign as well, as demonstrated in the contemporary buildings' décor at Babylon (noted above). Moreover, the adaption of the standing lion for our thematic group 3 — a motif that had no local tradition, and in spite of its modifications while accepted — reinforces the conclusion that, indeed, the artistic choices of Judah in the early 6th century BCE aimed to partially conform with those prevalent in contemporary Babylonia.

This pattern of the pictorial borrowing from the iconographic tradition of the hegemonic Babylonian sovereign follows the model of the appropriation of the winged disc as a symbol of Yahweh for one of the two visual icons employed for the *lmlk* administrative system of Judah when it functioned as an Assyrian vassal kingdom in the late 8th and 7th century BCE (Ornan 2005b: 231–234, compare the winged disc on the royal seal impression of Hezekiah from the Ophel: Mazar 2015). The similar dynamics of 'borrowing' meaningful visual icons from the Assyrian and Babylonian hegemonic repertoire that took place in Judah — modified at times to fit local norms — strongly corroborates the endurance of the administrative system of Judah from the heyday of the Assyrian to (at least) the early phase of the Persian-Achaemenid rule.

## Conclusions

The lion stamp impressions reflect the administration in the province of Judah under Babylonian rule following the destruction of Jerusalem and demonstrate direct continuation of the period during which Judah was a vassal kingdom of first Assyria, and then, later of Babylon. The same types of storage jar were stamped in the



same production centers, with the focus gradually shifting from the Judahite Shephelah to the environs of Jerusalem. Most of these storage jars continued to be collected in the same administrative center at Ramat Raḥel. The change in the selected visual symbol reflects a new period, in which the administrative area of Judah was reduced and no longer included the southern Beersheba–Arad Valley, the southern hill country, or the Judahite Shephelah. At the same time, the importance of the Benjamin region declined. The onset of the Persian period heralded a new era in which (1) the Benjamin region almost completely ceased to play a role in storage-jar distribution, (2) Jerusalem gradually returned to the central status it enjoyed prior to its devastation, and (3) the practice of marking pictorial motifs on storage jars came to an end.

This understanding of the administrative and economic history of Judah leads to the conclusion that there was administrative and economic continuity between the First and the Second Temple periods. This conclusion demonstrates that while the Babylonian exile — the darkest period in the history of Judah — was indeed characterized by heavy destruction, an unprecedented demographic crisis, and by the exile of a significant part of the societal elite and of the Jerusalemites: it was also a period of transition, linking the material culture, administration, and economics of the 7th century with and those of the 5th century BCE.

The choice of the lion as the visual motif for the ‘office’ stamp seals used in the administrative network of Judah under the Babylonian and the early phase of the Persian-Achaemenid rule continued similar local dynamics of imagery-making, apparent during the previous Assyrian foreign hegemony on Judah in the late 8th and 7th century BCE. In both periods the motifs’ selection signified Yahweh: (1) during the Assyrian hegemony it was presented by the winged disc motif; (2) under the Babylonian rule it was the lion, whose contemporary presentations in the monumental buildings of Babylon is clearly demonstrated. The choice in the lion as standing for Yahweh during the Babylonian-Persian times continued religio-iconographical trends already evident in the 8th and 7th centuries BCE. This local continuation is noticeably reflected in the corpus of the lion stamp impressions through thematic groups 1 and 2, presenting striding or standing lions, while the lion standing



erect on its two hind legs of group 3 manifests a new type, probably inspired by Babylonian iconography found in the Levant, which served as a continuation of earlier Assyrian imagery.

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*Fig 1a. Sealing of a standing lion from Ramat Rahel (no. 24.1)*



*Fig 1b. Sealing of a standing lion with a circle on its head (no. 24.20)*



*Fig 1c. Sealing of a lion standing on its hind legs with a human head in front of it (no. 24.42)*

# Did Solomon “Overlay the Whole Temple with Gold”? A New Look at 1 Kings 6:20-22

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**Résumé.** Le récit de la construction du Temple de Salomon en 1 Rois 6 évoque à plusieurs reprises des décorations en or ; le passage le plus frappant (v. 20-22) affirme que tout l'intérieur du bâtiment en était revêtu. La plupart des chercheurs s'accordent à dire que ce passage est surchargé. Cet article propose une nouvelle reconstruction de son histoire textuelle, en expliquant l'origine des différences entre TM et LXX. Si cette hypothèse est juste, la forme la plus ancienne du texte affirmait seulement que le lieu très saint (Debir) était couvert d'or, et non qu'il en était de même du lieu saint (Hekal). Si certains exégètes suspectaient déjà cela du fait de considérations historiques ou sur la base de raisonnements de pure critique littéraire, le nouveau scénario défendu ici combine analyse rédactionnelle et critique textuelle.

The account of the building of Solomon's temple (in 1 Kgs 6-7) is a complicated text, replete with obscure details.<sup>1</sup> In spite of various attempts at harmonizing the various indications contained in the descriptions, the problems are often ascribed to the intervention of successive redactors. It is possible that some scribes inserted glosses in order to shed light on some long-forgotten technical details pertaining to the architecture of a temple that had been destroyed many years before; these scribes were not always successful, or perhaps it is modern scholars who are not able to understand everything. It is also conceivable that the account itself was written, from the start, at a time when the Temple did not exist

<sup>1</sup> See for instance E. Blum, “Der Tempelbaubericht in 1 Könige 6,1– 22: Exegetische und historische Überlegungen,” in J. Kamlah (ed.) *Temple Building and Temple Cult Architecture and Cultic Paraphernalia of Temples in the Levant (2.– 1. Mill. B.C.E.)* (ADPV 41; Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2012), 291-316.



anymore. Another theory, recently defended by Dubovský,<sup>2</sup> is that the description of the Temple was updated to take into account architectural changes made through time. In other words, the stratigraphy of the text would reflect, to some extent, the “stratigraphy” of the temple, or, to be more precise, its architectural development. One of the aspects of the temple’s description that has long been suspected to be secondary is the gilding of its furniture and of its walls, and in this paper I would like to examine the most important verses on this topic, that is, v. 20-22.

## 1. Too much gold in this house?

Let us begin by looking at the fuller picture. 1 Kings 6 asserts that Solomon overlaid with gold not only some of the furniture of the Temple, such as an altar (v. 21), the two cherubim inside the Debir (v. 28) and the doors (v. 32, 35), but also the floor of the Temple (v. 30), the (walls of the) Debir (v. 20), and even the whole house (v. 21-22). Some commentators, like Stade<sup>3</sup> and Würthwein,<sup>4</sup> think that all these assertions are glosses. Others, like Burney,<sup>5</sup> believe that only some of these assertions are secondary. Montgomery and Gehman write: “The gilding of the furnishings, as of the altar, is reasonable, but not that of the whole interior”.<sup>6</sup> According to Fritz, the only mention of gold that is not secondary concerns sculptures on doors (v. 35).<sup>7</sup> Knauf, in his recent commentary,<sup>8</sup> ascribes the various mentions of gold to staggered, late redactions.

<sup>2</sup> P. Dubovský, *The Building of the First Temple: A Study in Redactional, Text-Critical and Historical Perspective* (FAT 103; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2015).

<sup>3</sup> B. Stade, *Geschichte des Volkes Israel*, vol. 1 (Berlin: Historischer Verlag Baumgärtel, 1887), 311-43.

<sup>4</sup> E. Würthwein, *Die Bücher der Könige*, vol 1: 1. Kön. 17 – 2. Kön. 25 (ATD 11.2; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1984), 69.

<sup>5</sup> C. F. Burney, *Notes on the Hebrew Text of the Books of Kings with an Introduction and an Appendix* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1903), 73-74.

<sup>6</sup> J. A. Montgomery and H.S. Gehman, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Book of Kings* (ICC; Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1951), 152.

<sup>7</sup> V. Fritz, *Das erste Buch der Könige* (Zürcher Bibelkommentare: AT 10,1; Zürich: Theologischer Verlag, 1996), 66-67, see also 72.

<sup>8</sup> E.-A. Knauf, *1 Könige 1-14* (Freiburg/Basel/Wien: Herder, 2016), 218, table 8.

There are various reasons why exegetes believe some or all of these references to be additions. Few believe that 10th century Judah could have possessed all the gold mentioned in 1 Kings, even if we understand that the Hebrew verb *צפה* refers here to a “thin gilding with *liquid* gold,” as argued by Burney, rather than “heavy gold plating.”<sup>9</sup> As noted by Dubovský, another hint of diachronic development is the presence of several inconsistencies.<sup>10</sup> In particular, it is a bit surprising to read in v. 30 that “the floor of the house he overlaid with gold, in the inner and outer rooms,” since it seems to be implied already in v. 19-22. The latter verses already stipulated that these parts of the temple were overlaid in gold, and it would have been a reasonable assumption on the part of the reader to conclude that not only the walls but also the floor and the ceiling had been gilded. If not, that is, if v. 19-22 only concerns the gilding of the walls, then v. 30 does contain new information regarding the floor, but by the end of the chapter it has never been said that the ceiling was overlaid in gold, which is surprising. In addition, the notion that Solomon overlaid the doors of the Debir and of the Hekal with gold (v. 31-35) seems to be contradicted by two other passages in Kings. First, 1 Kgs 7:50, according to which the same doors were *made* of gold. Second, 2 Kings 18:16, according to which it is Hezekiah who overlaid them (presumably with gold). It may be that some of these problems<sup>11</sup> are due to modern expectations of consistency and concision that do not align with to the way that Judeans wrote in the first millennium B.C. But it seems difficult to chalk all of the difficulties up to, say, the repetitive style of ancient redactors.

<sup>9</sup> Burney, 73; more recently, M. J. Mulder, *1 Kings* (HCOT; Leuven: Peeters, 1998), 262.

<sup>10</sup> Dubovský, 186-93.

<sup>11</sup> Stade also argued that some other texts do not seem to be aware of the presence of this gold in Solomon’s temple. This concerns not only 2 Kings 18:16, as already noted, but also several situations where kings take gold from Jerusalem’s public buildings as booty but do not seem aware that they could take some from inside the temple (1 Kgs 14:14; 2 Kgs 16:17). Similarly, the description of Ezekiel’s temple does not allude to the presence of gilding. For a criticism of these arguments, see Burney, 73-74.

Yet another approach, which I will follow here, consists in examining the differences between the textual witnesses, and above all the Masoretic text (MT) and the Septuagint (LXX). These differences sometimes reveal older forms of the text. A famous instance is to be found in this chapter, in v. 11-14: this passage has all the appearances of a theological addition, and indeed, these verses are absent from the Septuagint, which represents here the earliest form of the text.<sup>12</sup> MT contains a number of other, smaller plusses compared to the LXX, notably in the main passage about gilding, that is, v. 20-22, to which I now turn.

## 2. Literary-critical issues in v. 20-22 (MT)

In MT this passage reads as follows:

20 The interior of the inner sanctuary was twenty cubits long, twenty cubits wide, and twenty cubits high; he overlaid it with pure gold. He also overlaid the altar with cedar. 21 Solomon overlaid the inside of the house with pure gold, then he drew chains of gold across, in front of the inner sanctuary, and overlaid it with gold. 22 Next he overlaid the whole house with gold, in order that the whole house might be perfect; even the whole altar that belonged to the inner sanctuary he overlaid with gold. (NRSV)

Before discussing the text-critical problems, it is interesting to note that this passage raises several issues in terms of inner consistency:

1. In Hebrew, v. 20 begins with וּלְפָנֵי הַדְּבִיר (“and in front of the Debir”), which is not translated as such in the NRSV. Indeed, it seems out of place.
2. At the end of v. 20 – a verse which concerns the inner sanctuary (Debir) – it is surprising to read a brief clause about the altar (“he also overlaid the altar with cedar”), because there was no altar there, nor in the outer sanctuary (Hekal). Most scholars believe that “altar” designates here the table for the shewbread

<sup>12</sup> R. Müller, J. Pakkala, and B. ter Haar Romeny, *Evidence of Editing: Growth and Change of Texts in the Hebrew Bible* (Atlanta: SBL, 2014), 101-8.

(cf. Exod 25:23-30). In addition, we should certainly read “he made (וַיַּעַשׂ) an altar” as in LXX (ἐποίησεν), because the verb in MT (וַיִּצַף) is most probably an assimilation to the next verb (וַיִּצַף),<sup>13</sup> or perhaps to the previous verb (וַיִּצְפֶּהוּ), or both.<sup>14</sup> The resulting text seems more logical because this is the first mention of the altar, and because it would be strange to mention the material with which the altar is covered but not that of which it is made.<sup>15</sup> Nevertheless, the clause “he made an altar out of cedar” seems to be out of context, and all the more since it is separated from the next mention of the altar (v. 22) by a few sentences that are not about the same subject.

3. Is the beginning of v. 21 about the gilding of the Debir or of the entire temple? Its wording (וַיִּצַף שְׁלֹמֹה אֶת־הַבַּיִת מִפְּנִימָה זָהָב סָגוֹר) suggests the latter, but in view of the immediate context it could accommodate the former.<sup>16</sup> But in both cases, the text seems redundant. If the beginning of v. 21 only concerns the gilding of the Debir, it repeats what has already been said in v. 20. If it concerns the entire house, the text still contains a repetition, since we read in v. 22 that Solomon “overlaid the whole house with gold.”
4. To which part of the sanctuary does the last clause of v. 21 (“he overlaid it (וַיִּצְפֶּהוּ) with gold”) refer? In other words, what is the antecedent of the personal pronoun suffixed to the verb? If it is “the inner sanctuary”, which is mentioned immediately before, it is, again, a repetition of what has already been said in v. 20 (and perhaps at the beginning of v. 21). If the antecedent is הַבַּיִת

<sup>13</sup> See already O. Thenius, *Die Bücher der Könige* (KHAT; Leipzig: Hirzel, 1873<sup>2</sup>), 72.

<sup>14</sup> So Noth, 101. In view of the reconstruction of the textual history I suggest below, it is probably under the influence of the previous verb that the assimilation occurred.

<sup>15</sup> Burney, 74. Also, if one does not accept the notion that this altar is the table for shewbread and if it was a sacrifice altar, then it makes little sense to cover such an altar with wood, since sacrifices are to be burned upon it (B. Stade and F. Schwally, *The Books of Kings: Critical Edition of the Hebrew Text with Notes* [Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1904], 88).

<sup>16</sup> As argued by M. Cogan, *1 Kings: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary* (AB 10; New York: Doubleday, 2000), 243.

מִפְּנֵימָה, mentioned at the beginning of v. 21, then the sentence is repetitive.

These problems suggest that the text is overloaded. In fact, from a literary-critical point of view, not only the beginning of v. 20 but also most parts of v. 21-22 have been judged suspicious at some point in the history of research. Thus v. 21a looks like a technical addition. There are, however, two possible ways of translating the expression וַיַּעֲבֵר בְּרִתּוֹקוֹת זָהָב. The most traditional rendering is “he drew chains of gold across,” as in the NRSV. Knauf offers an interesting explanation:

Durch die Vergoldung der ganzen Holztäfelung der Cella v.21 wird eine augenfällige Differenz zwischen Cella [= Hekal] und Adyton [= Debir] wieder aufgehoben. Dafür werden zur Wiederherstellung der Abgrenzung Goldketten gespannt, und auch vergoldet.<sup>17</sup>

The other possible translation, suggested by Korpel<sup>18</sup> and adopted by Dubovský,<sup>19</sup> is “he spread gold over the surface by means of solder-seams.” Whatever the translation one prefers, v. 21a looks like a technical addition, whether it was included to solve a problem or to shed light on the process by which the gilding was achieved.

As for v. 22a, it can be understood in two ways. Either it merely repeats that the walls of the entire house (Debir and Hekal) were gilded. If so, it may be a repetition of v. 21a, albeit with such an appearance of all-encompassing assertion (“the *entire* house he overlaid with gold, in order that the whole house might be *perfect*”), that it looks like a final remark that subsumes and surpasses previous assertions about gilding of various parts of the temple. Therefore, it looks like a very late addition. Or (but less likely in my view), v. 22a represents quite an extravagant claim, as Knauf has it:

<sup>17</sup> Knauf, 239.

<sup>18</sup> M. C. A. Korpel, “Soldering in Isaiah 40: 19-20 and 1 Kings 6: 21,” *UF* 23 (1991), 219-22.

<sup>19</sup> Dubovský, 190-91.

Da innen nun schlechterdings alles vergoldet ist, kann sich 22a nur auf die Aussenmauern beziehen. 21-22 ist ein Zusatz, der die Gestaltung des Adytions unterbricht, und dessen Verfasser an einem schweren Fall von Goldrausch litten.<sup>20</sup>

For the same reason, Mulder thinks that v. 22 in its entirety is a very late gloss, much later than v. 21.<sup>21</sup>

Finally, v. 22b has long been regarded as “a late, superfluous, and awkward addition,” as Stade writes laconically.<sup>22</sup> Kittel notes that “was der Glossator [in v. 22b] mit dem Altar im Debir meint, ist vollkommen unverständlich.”<sup>23</sup> Indeed, the sentence is surprising, not only because of its position (it seems out of context), but also because of its phrasing, especially the relationship between the altar and the Debir: the former is no longer “in front of” the latter, it *belongs* to it.

In a word, literary-critical and content-related considerations could lead to various scenarios, whereby this or that section of v. 20-22 (according to MT) are interpolations that rendered the passage messy.

### 3. Text-critical issues in v. 20-22

Could text-critical considerations help us see more clearly what happened here? In v. 19-22, MT contains several plusses compared to LXX (see the table below; LXX<sup>L</sup> is almost identical to LXX<sup>B</sup> here, so only the latter is reproduced):

- at the beginning of v. 20, the clause “and in front of the Debir”;
- the beginning of v. 21 in MT (“Solomon overlaid the inside of the house with pure gold, then he drew chains of gold across”);
- the end of v. 22 in MT (“even the whole altar that belonged to the inner sanctuary he overlaid with gold”).

<sup>20</sup> Knauf, 239-40.

<sup>21</sup> Mulder, 231.

<sup>22</sup> Stade and Schwally, 88.

<sup>23</sup> R. Kittel, *Die Bücher der Könige* (HKAT; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1900), 52.

v.	MT	LXX <sup>B</sup>
20	וּלְפָנֵי הַדְּבִיר עֲשָׂרִים אַמָּה אָרְךְ וְעֲשָׂרִים אַמָּה רָחֵב וְעֲשָׂרִים אַמָּה קוֹמָתוֹ וַיַּצְפֵּהוּ זָהָב סָגוֹר וַיַּצֵּף מִזְבֵּחַ אָרְזוֹ	εἴκοσι πήχεις μῆκος καὶ εἴκοσι πήχεις πλάτος καὶ εἴκοσι πήχεις τὸ ὕψος αὐτοῦ καὶ περιέσχεν αὐτόν χρυσίῳ συνκεκλεισμένῳ καὶ ἐποίησεν θυσιαστήριον
21a	וַיַּצֵּף שְׁלֹמֹה אֶת־הַבַּיִת מִפְּנִימָה זָהָב סָגוֹר וַיַּעֲבֹר בְּרִתּוֹקוֹת זָהָב	
21b	לְפָנֵי הַדְּבִיר וַיַּצְפֵּהוּ זָהָב	κατὰ πρόσωπον τοῦ δαβείρ καὶ περιέσχεν αὐτὸ χρυσίῳ
22a	וְאֶת־כָּל־הַבַּיִת צָפָה זָהָב עַד־תֵּתֵם כָּל־הַבַּיִת וְכָל־הַמִּזְבֵּחַ אֲשֶׁר־לְדְבִיר צָפָה זָהָב	καὶ ὅλον τὸν οἶκον περιέσχεν χρυσίῳ ἕως συντελείας παντὸς τοῦ οἴκου
v.	MT	LXX
20	<b>And in front of the Debir,</b> 20 cubits long and 20 cubits wide and 20 cubits high, and he overlaid it with pure gold and he overlaid an altar <b>with cedar</b>	20 cubits long and 20 cubits wide and 20 cubits high, and he overlaid it with pure gold and he made an altar
21a	<b>And Solomon overlaid the inside of the house with pure gold and he spread gold over the sur- face by means of solder-seams</b>	
21b	in front of the Debir and he overlaid it with gold	in front of the Debir and he overlaid it with gold
22a	And the entire house he overlaid with gold, in order that the whole house might be perfect;	And the entire house he overlaid with gold until completion of all the house

22b **and all the altar that belonged to  
the Debir he overlaid with gold**

These sentences do not seem to have been dropped accidentally in LXX or its *Vorlage*, as the wording does not lend itself to parablepsis. It is more likely that they correspond to deliberate additions (in MT) or omissions (LXX). There exists a large consensus among scholars in favour of the former view, because MT seems overloaded.

Regarding v. 20, there is no straightforward explanation for the presence of the expression *וְלִפְנֵי הַדְּבִיר* in MT. Here is a possible scenario: it may be a gloss coming from a marginal note, some vestigial remains of an expression that was lost after the insertion of v. 18 (which is also an MT plus). Originally, the last word of v. 17 (*לִפְנֵי*) was immediately followed by the first word of v. 19 (*הַדְּבִיר*), so that it read: *לִפְנֵי הַדְּבִיר*. After the insertion of v. 18, the expression was split, and the last word of v. 17 was repointed *לִפְנֵי*, which is a unique, and problematic, form.<sup>24</sup>

As for v. 21-22, many hypotheses have been defended. For instance, Klostermann regards the beginning of v. 21a (until *בְּרִתּוֹקוֹת (זָהָב)*) and v. 22b as glosses.<sup>25</sup> For Rehm, the added text is v. 21a (and the last word of v. 20) and v. 22b.<sup>26</sup> Montgomery and Gehman,<sup>27</sup> as well as Noth,<sup>28</sup> think that v. 21a and the entire v. 22 are additions. For Gray, it is rather v. 21 and 22b.<sup>29</sup> Benzinger suggested that v. 21a has been inserted after v. 22a.<sup>30</sup> Knauf believes, on the contrary, that v. 22 was added later than v. 21.<sup>31</sup> For Würthwein, v. 21-22 are almost only made up of additions, except for the words “vor dem

<sup>24</sup> For an overview of interpretations, see CTAT 1, p. 342-43.

<sup>25</sup> A. Klostermann, *Die Bücher Samuelis und der Könige* (Kurzgefasster Kommentar zu den heiligen Schriften sowie zu den Apocryphen 3; Nördlingen: Beck, 1887), 296.

<sup>26</sup> M. Rehm, *Das erste Buch der Könige: Ein Kommentar* (Würzburg: Echter Verlag, 1979), 64, 66.

<sup>27</sup> Montgomery and Gehman, 150.

<sup>28</sup> Noth, 101.

<sup>29</sup> J. Gray, *I & II Kings* (OTL; London: SCM, 1964), 159.

<sup>30</sup> I. Benzinger, *Die Bücher der Könige* (KHCAT; Leipzig/Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1899), xvii, 36.

<sup>31</sup> Knauf, 218, table 8.



Schrein.”<sup>32</sup> Fritz regards all of v. 21-22 as secondary.<sup>33</sup> Interestingly, these hypotheses often go beyond the mere removal of the MT plusses. At the same time, most of these proposals seem to be based on an arbitrary selection of sentences that are deemed superfluous, and as a result scholars disagree on the details. In reality, we should not be content to remove a few superfluous expressions or sentences; we should try to reconstruct the textual history of the passage in a way that accounts for the textual witnesses and their divergences. In particular, it would not be satisfying to assert that LXX is shorter, the MT plusses must be glosses, *ergo* LXX necessarily represents the oldest text. Methodologically speaking, it is necessary to account for the appearance of the plusses if we regard them as additions (as only a few scholars, such as Noth and Burney, have attempted to do; more on Burney’s theory below).

Returning to v. 21, let us begin by noting that it is not inconceivable that a copyist deleted this sentence deliberately because he did not understand the rare word בְּרִתּוֹקוֹת (after all, modern scholars still struggle with it). However, generally speaking, this kind of difficulty does not seem to be a frequent reason for intentional omissions. In fact, it is likely that copyists often reproduced sentences they did not understand clearly; it is rather when they did understand the text and were not satisfied with it, that they omitted parts of it, for instance due to ideological reasons. It appears far more probable that v. 21a is a technical addition, as already mentioned. Benzinger has suggested another explanation: he argued that v. 21a was a doublet of v. 22a, originally written in the margin of the manuscript, and later inserted in the MT in the wrong place.<sup>34</sup> But it is not really a doublet: while the beginning of the sentence is similar, the end is entirely different.

This intrusion of v. 21a had an important consequence: the original sentence “he made an altar of cedar and he overlaid it with gold” was broken into two parts separated by the interpolated sentence. The first part constitutes the last clause of v. 20, with the verb corrected according to the *Vorlage* of LXX, as we have seen, while the second part is v. 21b:

<sup>32</sup> Würthwein, 61.

<sup>33</sup> Fritz, 66.

<sup>34</sup> Benzinger, xvii, 36.

וַיַּעַשׂ מִזְבֵּחַ אֶרְצוֹ לִפְנֵי הַדְּבִיר וַיַּצְפֵּהוּ זָהָב

According to Burney, the insertion of v. 21a has yet another consequence: the addition of v. 22b: “and the whole altar that belonged to the inner sanctuary he overlaid with gold” (וְכָל-הַמִּזְבֵּחַ אֲשֶׁר-לוֹ (לְדְבִיר צָפָה זָהָב). Burney suggests that v. 22b “owes its existence to the gloss in the previous v. 21 which, by breaking the connection, destroyed the original statement referring to the gold-plating of the altar, and so caused the necessity for an additional clause to that effect.”<sup>35</sup> Accordingly (that is, if we remove v. 21a and v. 22b), the earlier state of the text comprised two successive statements:

- “he made an altar [with cedar] in front of the Debir and he overlaid it with gold” (end of v. 20 + v. 21b);
- “and the entire house he overlaid with gold until completion of all the house” (v. 22a).

Note that the Greek does not have the next word “cedar” at the end of v. 20. Perhaps this word represents an explanatory addition in MT; or it was deleted in LXX or its *Vorlage* because of a perceived contradiction with Exod 25:23, according to which the table for shewbread altar of the Tabernacle was to be made of acacia wood,<sup>36</sup> or with Exod 27:1, according to which the sacrificial altar was to be made of the same kind of wood.

Burney’s scenario is a plausible one. However, it may have several slight drawbacks. First, it requires that a (proto-MT) scribe noticed that the old sentence about the gilding of the altar (end of v. 20 + v. 21b) was missing – but where could he have found this information if it had been deleted from the text in the first place? According to Burney, this sentence belonged to the earliest text, but was subsequently “destroyed” when v. 21 was inserted. Perhaps we should suppose that this scribe had two copies of (this section of) Kings in front of him and compared them,<sup>37</sup> but this seems to me very hypothetical. This is all the more unlikely that v. 22b is

<sup>35</sup> Burney, 75. Thenius had already made a similar hypothesis (74), and later Noth also (101).

<sup>36</sup> Stade and Schwally, 88.

<sup>37</sup> Thenius, 74.

not a pure verbal repetition of the lost sentence. Indeed, the sequence of the words is different, there is a small plus (“the *entire* altar”), and as we have already noted, the altar is not “in front of” the Debir anymore, it *belongs* to it. For the same reason, it seems difficult to imagine that the scribe knew this technical text by heart and restored the lost sentence (end of v. 20 + v. 21b) thanks to his memory. Or should we assume that it is the scribe responsible for the addition of v. 21a himself, who suddenly realized that he had created chaos in v. 20-21, and who tried to make up for this mistake by repeating in v. 22b the sentence he had dismembered? If so, he was decidedly clumsy, because again, v. 22b is not a verbal reproduction of the lost sentence.

Note also that the information that this copyist was trying to save from oblivion is not that Solomon made an altar, but that he overlaid it. This suggests that the change “he made” > “he overlaid” at the end of v. 20 in MT (see above) had already happened. This also means that this information, albeit lost due to the addition of v. 21a, was not of much importance, since v. 22a already suggested that everything inside the temple was overlaid with gold. The information would have been more important if it had been about the *making* of an altar. In light of this, the motive behind the addition of v. 22b becomes elusive.<sup>38</sup>

In the following, I offer another possible scenario. A resumptive repetition framing the first part of v. 22 appears if one considers both v. 21 as it is preserved in the LXX (that is, without the MT plus) and v. 22 as it is in MT (that is, with the MT plus):

<sup>38</sup> Yet another, less likely hypothesis had been formulated by Thenius (“Der Abschreiber nämlich, welcher dort nach אָרָז den Satz וְהָבִינָהּ לְפָנֵי הַדְּבִיר וְיִצְפְּהוּ זָהָב übersprungen hatte, erkannte sein Versehen, als er zum Schlusse unseres Verse kam, und fügte diesen Satz mit einem Zeichen, dass er dorthin gehöre, hier an; ein anderer Abschreiber übersah die Zeichen, fand in unsere Verse zweimal nach einander לְפָנֵי הַדְּבִיר geschrieben, und brachte ganz natürlich eins davon, weil er an Versehen glauben musste, in Wegfall. Eine Folge dieser Irrungen ist nun aber die zweite Hälfte von.” (72). As for the ingenious reconstruction of the text by A. Šanda, it involves a free rearrangement of the components of v. 20-22 that is extremely hypothetical (*Die Bücher der Könige. Übersetzt und erklärt*, vol. 1 [Exegetisches Handbuch zum Alten Testament 9; Münster: Aschendorff, 1911], 136).

“he made an altar [with cedar] in front of the Debir and he overlaid it with gold” (end of v. 20 + v. 21b)

“And the entire house he overlaid with gold,

in order that the whole house might be perfect” (v. 22a)

“and the entire altar that belonged to the Debir he overlaid with gold” (v. 22b)

In other words, the second part of v. 22 was added by way of a *Wiederaufnahme*, but this resumptive repetition was partially hidden when the first plus, in v. 21, was inserted. The last part of v. 22 was probably deleted later in the transmission of LXX or its *Vorlage* because it is redundant. Juha Pakkala has pointed out many instances of deliberate omissions for a variety of reasons, including a desire to eliminate redundancies.<sup>39</sup> As Jan Joosten has demonstrated in the case of the Twelve Minor Prophets, it is a well-attested phenomenon that copyists of LXX deleted some sentences or expressions that they deemed uselessly repetitive.<sup>40</sup> The same phenomenon occurred during the transmission of Kings.<sup>41</sup>

This scenario entails a different relative chronology for the changes that were made in the text. The chain of events would have been the following:

1. The earliest text only stated that “he made an altar [with cedar] in front of the Debir and overlaid it with gold” (end of v. 20 + v. 21b).<sup>42</sup>
2. A scribe inserted v. 22a and framed this addition with a *Wiederaufnahme* by adding v. 22b. Thereafter, the paths diverge and lead to the textual witnesses as we know them:
- 3a. During the transmission of LXX or its *Vorlage*, at some later point, v. 22b was omitted because it was redundant with the end

<sup>39</sup> J. Pakkala, *God’s Word Omitted: Omissions in the Transmission of the Hebrew Bible* (FRLANT 251; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2013).

<sup>40</sup> J. Joosten, “A Septuagintal Translation Technique in the Minor Prophets: The Elimination of Verbal Repetitions” in F. García Martínez, M. Vervenne (eds.), *Interpreting Translation. Studies on the LXX and Ezekiel in Honour of Johan Lust* (BETHL 192; Leuven: Peeters, 2005), 217-223.

<sup>41</sup> M. Richelle, “Intentional Omissions in the Textual History of the Books of Kings: In Search of Methodological Criteria,” *Semitica* 58 (2016): 146-48.

<sup>42</sup> This corresponds exactly to the text reconstructed by Noth, 96.

of v. 20 + v. 21b. From then on, the *Wiederaufnahme* was not apparent anymore in LXX.

- 3b. In MT, a later scribe inserted v. 21a, an explicative sentence that was perhaps once written in the margin of the scroll (as was apparently done quite frequently). This intrusion broke the first and earliest sentence about the altar (end of v. 20 + v. 21b) into two segments that are now separated by v. 21a, which also means that the first part of the frame of the resumptive repetition is not apparent anymore in MT.<sup>43</sup>

	Earliest text	Text after insertion of v. 22b by way of a <i>Wiederaufnahme</i>	MT	LXX
20	20 cubits long and 20 cubits wide and 20 cubits high, and he overlaid it with pure gold and he made an altar [with cedar (?)]	20 cubits long and 20 cubits wide and 20 cubits high, and he overlaid it with pure gold <b><u>and he overlaid an altar</u></b> <b><u>[with cedar (?)]</u></b>	And in front of the Debir, 20 cubits long and 20 cubits wide and 20 cubits high, and he overlaid it with pure gold and he overlaid an altar with cedar	20 cubits long and 20 cubits wide and 20 cubits high, and he overlaid it with pure gold and he <i>made</i> an altar
21a			And Solomon overlaid the inside of the house with pure gold and he spread gold over the surface by means of solder- seams	
21b	in front of the Debir	<b><u>in front of the Debir</u></b>	in front of the Debir	in front of the Debir

<sup>43</sup> It is possible that “cedar” at the end of v. 20 was absent from the earliest text, and that once v. 21 was inserted, the sentence “he made an altar” was interrupted, and a later scribe felt it necessary to indicate the material of which the altar was made, hence the addition of “cedar”.

	and he overlaid it with gold	<b><u>and he overlaid it with gold</u></b>	and he overlaid it with gold	and he overlaid it with gold
22a	And the entire house he overlaid with gold, in order that the whole house might be perfect;	And the entire house he overlaid with gold, in order that the whole house might be perfect;	And the entire house he overlaid with gold, in order that the whole house might be perfect;	And the entire house he overlaid with gold until completion of all the house
22b	<b><u>and all the altar that belonged to the Debir he over- laid with gold</u></b>	and all the altar that belonged to the Debir he over- laid with gold		

Since, in this scenario, v. 22a was interpolated at a time when v. 21a had not yet been inserted, it was the first mention of the gilding of the entire house in the chapter. Therefore, the original meaning of v. 22a was probably that not only the Debir but also Hekal was gilded. If v. 21 had already been present, the reader might have understood that v. 22a concerned the exterior walls, as noted by Knauf (see above), but in the original context it was not the case.

This scenario may be a bit speculative. After all, the resumptive repetition is not attested as such in any textual witnesses. Here we are at the limit between textual criticism and compositional criticism. But the textual witnesses do contain all the dots that must be connected for the *Wiederaufnahme* to be unveiled – an editorial technique that played a significant role in the growth of the Books of Kings, and the traces of which are often preserved only in LXX.<sup>44</sup> Here, the result is a reconstruction of the textual history of the passage that is, in my view, plausible. Importantly, *the earliest form of this passage only said that the Debir and the altar were overlaid with gold*. It makes sense, as a clear difference between the Debir and the Hekal reappears.

<sup>44</sup> This has been demonstrated by J. Treballe Barrera in various studies, for instance "The Text-Critical Use of the Septuagint in the Books of Kings," in C. E. Cox (ed.), *VII Congress of the International Organization for Septuagint and Cognate Studies* (Atlanta: SBL, 1991), 285-99, esp. 296-97. See also Richelle, 157.

In addition, perhaps we can now understand the reason why the altar is mentioned here: it is probably because it shared this common feature – being gilded – with the Debir in front of which it stood, a feature absent from the Hekal where the altar was erected.

There is yet another possible advantage to our hypothesis. The fact that v. 22b is not a pure verbal repetition of the initial sentence finally finds an explanation. When a scribe creates a resumptive repetition in a text, he does not necessarily make a pure repetition, he often introduces variations, whether by reduction and/or by re-formulation. A striking example appears in Kgs 10:29-31, where v. 30 has been added and framed by v. 29 and 31 (see table).

<sup>29</sup> But Jehu did not turn aside from the sins of Jeroboam son of Nebat, which he caused Israel to commit—the golden calves that were in Bethel and in Dan.

<sup>30</sup> The LORD said to Jehu, “Because you have done well in carrying out what I consider right, and in accordance with all that was in my heart have dealt with the house of Ahab, your sons of the fourth generation shall sit on the throne of Israel.”

<sup>31</sup> But Jehu was not careful to follow the law of the LORD the God of Israel with all his heart; he did not turn from the sins of Jeroboam, which he caused Israel to commit.

רק חטאי ירבעם בְּיָדָבֵט אֲשֶׁר  
הֶחֱטִיא אֶת־יִשְׂרָאֵל לֹא־סֵר  
יְהוָה מֵאַחֲרֵיהֶם עָנְלִי הַזֶּהב  
אֲשֶׁר בֵּית־אֵל וְאֲשֶׁר בְּדָן  
וַיֹּאמֶר יְהוָה אֶל־יְהוּדָה יֵעַן אֲשֶׁר־  
הִטִּיבְתָּ לַעֲשׂוֹת הַיֵּשֶׁר בְּעֵינֵי  
כָּל־אֲשֶׁר בְּלִבִּי עָשִׂיתָ לְבֵית  
אֲחָאָב בְּנֵי רְבָעִים יֵשְׁבוּ לְךָ עַל־  
כִּסֵּא יִשְׂרָאֵל

וְיְהוּדָה לֹא שָׁמַר לְלֶכֶת בְּתוֹרַת־  
יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵי־יִשְׂרָאֵל בְּכָל־לִבָּבוֹ  
לֹא סָר מֵעַל חַטָּאוֹת יִרְבְּעָם  
אֲשֶׁר הֶחֱטִיא אֶת־יִשְׂרָאֵל

Both parts of the frame contain a similar sentence about Jehu not turning aside from the sins of Jeroboam, but there are interesting differences:

- the sequence of words in this sentence is inverted (in accordance with Seidel’s law);
- the genitival construction meaning “sins of Jeroboam” is slightly different (חטאי ירבעם in v. 29; חטאות ירבעם in v. 31); in fact, v. 29 is the only place in Kings where this form occurs (and there are only three other occurrences of in the Hebrew Bible);<sup>45</sup>

<sup>45</sup> Gen 41:9; Isa 38:17; Am 9: 10.

- whereas normally in Kings, after לֹא-אֶסֶר the preposition *min* precedes a mention of the sins of Jeroboam, in v. 29 it is not the case; rather, this preposition is followed by a clause about the golden caves of Bethel and Dan;
- v. 31 also contains a theological remark, but it is entirely different, it is a nomistic criticism of Jehu.

In sum, 2 Kings 29-31 is a striking case where the two parts of the frame of a *Wiederaufnahme* are clearly different.

## Conclusion

It is the scholarly consensus that 1 Kgs 6:21-22 is overloaded. However, scholars disagree on which parts of this passage are secondary. It is not just a matter of removing some superfluous sentences or expressions; we must explain how the differences between MT and LXX arose. Few have proposed a reconstruction of the textual history of this passage that can solve this problem; Burney’s proposal is probably the most interesting. This article provides a new possible hypothesis. It is important to note that as often in textual criticism, the data do not allow us to *prove* a given scenario; what is within the reach of scholarly investigation is to propose models that are inevitably underdetermined by the data, but that may account for them. The question, then, is how plausible such models are, and whether some are more probable than others. The model proposed may be slightly speculative, but it accounts for the data in both MT and LXX, and it does not share the difficulties contained in Burney’s hypothesis; moreover, it explains some features of the text that otherwise remain enigmatic.

Interestingly, if this new proposal is correct, there is an important consequence with regard to the contents of the text: the earliest form of 1 Kings 6 did not assert that all the walls of the Temple were overlaid with gold; it was only the case of the Debir. The notion that “the whole house” was gilded (v. 22a) seems to have been introduced secondarily in the text by a redactor, contrary to what several scholars concluded in the past.<sup>46</sup> While the

<sup>46</sup> Notably Klostermann, Rehm and Gray (see references in fn. 23, 24, 27).



secondary character of v. 22a has already been suspected by some other scholars on purely literary-critical and content-related grounds (it would be an addition undetectable by means of textual criticism), the new hypothesis defended here provides a combination of literary-critical and textual considerations that support this notion. A simple analysis of the textual data could not lead to this conclusion, because v. 22a is present in both MT and LXX; however, the hypothesis of a *Wiederaufnahme* implies that it is an interpolation. The scribe who added this sentence made a significant contribution to the way this text was to be read in later history, since the notion of a Temple entirely gilded was to receive a considerable reception throughout centuries.

# Athaliah and the Theopolitics of Royal Assassination

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**Abstract.** While the kingdom of Israel experienced eight military coups in its shorter history, the kingdom of Judah saw only four assassinations of its monarchs, three of which were Athaliah, her usurper, and his successor.<sup>1</sup> This sequence of untimely royal deaths in Judah stands in contrast to the stability of Israel's royal line under the Jehu dynasty, whose kings are said to have entreated Yahweh, sought advice from prophets, and defeated Judah at Beth-Shemesh. From a later perspective it seems that whereas Yahweh previously protected the Judahite kings, in the ninth-eighth centuries BCE the Jehu dynasty enjoyed Yahweh's favour more than the Davidides. This paper thus considers the theopolitical impact of untimely royal deaths in ninth-eighth century Judah and argues that the instability of the Judahite royal line after her marriage contributed to the negative biblical portrayal of Athaliah and the Omride-Judahite alliance.

**Résumé.** Cependant que le royaume d'Israël a connu huit coups d'État, le royaume de Juda n'a subi que quatre assassinats royaux, parmi lesquels Athalie, son usurpateur et son successeur. Cette séquence tranche avec la stabilité de la dynastie jéhuïte, dont les rois implorent Yahvé, cherchent conseil auprès des prophètes, et défont Juda à Beth-Shémesh. De ce point de vue, il semble qu'aux IX<sup>e</sup>-VIII<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-Ch. les rois jéhuïtes bénéficient plus que les davidides de la faveur de Yahvé, alors même que ce dernier protégeait jusqu'alors les rois judaïtes. Cet essai s'intéresse donc à l'impact théopolitique de ces morts royales prématurées et suggère que l'instabilité de la dynastie judaïte après le mariage d'Athalie a contribué au portrait négatif que la Bible dépeint d'elle et de l'alliance omride-judaïte.

**Keywords:** Athaliah; Royal Assassination; 1-2 Kings; Omrides and Judahites

<sup>1</sup> I do not include Josiah in this paper for although he suffered an untimely death, there are not enough details given in the biblical account (2 Kgs 23:29-30) to determine whether Josiah was assassinated, executed, or killed in battle. Furthermore, the assassinations referred to in this paper are presented in the biblical texts as being carried out by figures internal to Israel or Judah, rather than by foreign agents.

The biblical authors make no secret of the fact that they viewed Queen Athaliah's reign as an illegitimate interruption in the Davidic succession and rule of Judah.<sup>2</sup> 2 Kings 11 presents her as a violent outsider, ruthlessly seizing the throne after the deaths of her husband and son and murdering the princes who could have stood in her way. The fact that she was a woman and an Omride, combined with the accusations of bloodshed, rendered her an obvious target for the biblical authors' polemic, as perhaps, did possible parallels with Jezebel.<sup>3</sup> Yet, despite numerous works focusing on the portrayal of Athaliah in 2 Kgs 11, less attention has been paid to the potential theological implications arising from her assassination.<sup>4</sup> For regardless of their "sins," the Judahite monarchs were

<sup>2</sup> For the purposes of this paper I am referring to Athaliah as a monarch on the basis that, even if she was technically a queen-regent for a young child, she would have been the face of the Judahite monarchy for all intents and purposes during her six-year tenure. In my view, the point of a regent was to function as a monarch even if they were not necessarily the sole ruler.

<sup>3</sup> On similarities between 2 Kgs 9-10 and 11 see Nadav Na'aman, "Queen Athaliah as a Literary-Historical Figure," *Semitica* 58 (2016): 181-205, here 193-195.

<sup>4</sup> Outside of commentaries, scholarly works tend to focus on her origins and the circumstances in which she took the throne, e.g., Omer Sergi, "Queenship in Judah Revisited: Athaliah and the Davidic Dynasty in Historical Perspective," in J.-M. Durand, M. Guichard and T. Römer (eds.), *Tabou et transgressions: Actes du colloque organisé par le Collège de France, Paris, les 11-12 avril 2012* (OBO 274; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2015), 99-111, the truth or lack thereof regarding the accusations of bloodshed, e.g., W.R. Kuloba, "Athaliah of Judah (2 Kings 11): A Political Anomaly or An Ideological Victim?" in A.K.M. Adam and S. Tongue (eds.), *Looking Through A Glass Bible* (Postdisciplinary Biblical Interpretations from the Glasgow School; BibInt 125; Leiden: Brill, 2014), 139-153, and the literary construction of the passage describing her assassination, e.g., Patricia Dutcher-Walls, *Narrative Art, Political Rhetoric: The Case of Athaliah and Joash* (JSOTSup 209; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1996); Lloyd M. Barré, *The Rhetoric of Political Persuasion: The Narrative Artistry and Political Intentions of 2 Kings 9-11* (CBQMS 20; Washington D.C.: Catholic Biblical Association, 1988). In addition, there has been much discussion about the development of the narrative in 2 Kgs 11, with some preferring to view it as a single literary unit (e.g., Burke O. Long, *2 Kings* [FOTL X; Grand Rapids, MI.: Eerdmans, 1991], 146-147; Mordechai Cogan and Hayim Tadmor, *II Kings: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary* [AB 11; New York: Doubleday, 1989], 132) and others arguing for two or more sources and/or redactions (e.g., John Gray, *I&II Kings: A Commentary* [OTL; Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1963],

believed to be Yahweh's representatives on earth.<sup>5</sup> The murder of a monarch, therefore, had serious theological implications for both the monarch and the murderer's standing vis-à-vis Yahweh as it involved a transfer of royal status. Due to the large temporal gaps and the subsequent different historical circumstances between them, the assassinations of Athaliah, Joash and Amaziah are not usually discussed together. Whilst acknowledging the reality of the different historical circumstances, this paper proposes that, due to the rarity of royal assassinations in Judah, from a retrospective literary viewpoint the deaths of these monarchs would have been a subject of interest for the biblical authors.<sup>6</sup> Viewed retrospectively, following Athaliah's marriage into the house of David, a Judahite king was killed in battle for the first time (Ahaziah, 2 Kgs 9:27-28)

510–514; Volkmar Fritz, *1&2 Kings: A Continental Commentary* [trans. Anselm C. Hagedorn; Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2003], 296–298).

<sup>5</sup> E.g., Carly L. Crouch, "Made in the Image of God: The Creation of מֶלֶךְ, the Commissioning of the King and the Chaoskampf of YHWH," *JANER* 16 (2016): 1–21, here 1–6, and see more comments on the relationship between monarchs as divine representatives of the gods in the ancient Near East more widely in Carly L. Crouch, *War and Ethics in the Ancient Near East: Military Violence in Light of Cosmology and History* (BZAW 407; Berlin: De Gruyter, 2009), 21–32.

<sup>6</sup> The northern kingdom of Israel experienced eight military coups in its shorter history, including the seven assassinations of Nadab (1 Kgs 15:27–28), Elah (1 Kgs 16:8–10), Joram (2 Kgs 9:21–26), Zechariah (2 Kgs 15:8–10), Shallum (2 Kgs 15:13–14), Pekahiah (2 Kgs 15:23–25) and Pekah (2 Kgs 15:29–30), while three royal houses were apparently wiped out, including the House of Jeroboam I (1 Kgs 15:25–30), the House of Baasha (1 Kgs 16:10–12), and the House of Omri (2 Kgs 9–10). Judah, meanwhile, saw only four assassinations of its monarchs: Athaliah (2 Kgs 11), Joash (2 Kgs 12), Amaziah (2 Kgs 14) and – over a century later – Amon (2 Kgs 21). That the deaths of Ahaziah, Athaliah, Joash and Amaziah were of interest to the biblical editors is also demonstrated by the deviations in their epilogue formulae as compared to the other kings. Jürg Hutzli, "Observations and Considerations on the Epilogue Formulae in Kings," in M. Oeming and P. Sláma (eds.), *A King Like All the Nations? Kingdoms of Israel and Judah in the Bible and in History* (BVB 28; Zurich: LIT Verlag, 2015), 177–194 shows clearly that the absence of expected formulae with regard to Ahaziah and Athaliah mark disruption in the royal line (p. 177). Furthermore, he shows that Ahaziah, Athaliah and Joash are not said to 'sleep with their fathers,' while the mention of 'the king' sleeping with his fathers placed just after Amaziah's epilogue may be a later addition (p. 179–181). For further comments on the epilogue formulae see Matthew J. Suriano, *The Politics of Dead Kings: Dynastic Ancestors in the Book of Kings and Ancient Israel* (FAT 2; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2010).

and a Judahite monarch was assassinated for the first time (Athaliah, 2 Kgs 11:16) followed by two others in succession (Joash, 2 Kgs 12:20; Amaziah, 2 Kgs 14:19). Four Judahite monarchs in succession thus met untimely ends while the Jehuite line enjoyed the most stable period in Israel's history, ruling for over a century and defeating Judah in battle. What follows explores this contrast in royal fortunes and proposes that, to later biblical editors, the switch from stability to violence in Judah's royal line – and the opposite in Israel – may have indicated a theological change in the status of the Israelite and Judahite kings and their relationship with Yahweh. The problems for the Judahite royal line began with the marriage of Athaliah into the House of David, while the stability for Israel began with Jehu's slaughter of the Omrides. I contend, therefore, that the starting point for the presentation of Athaliah as a threat to the House of David was the manner of the deaths of the kings surrounding her reign, which led to scrutiny of the Omride-Judahite alliance – the reason Athaliah married into Judah in the first place.

### **I. A Dynasty De-Stabilized: Untimely Deaths in Judah's Royal Court**

Following king Jehoshaphat of Judah's ninth-century alliance with king Ahab of Israel, the northern princess Athaliah married Joram of Judah (2 Kgs 8:16-18), and their son Ahaziah ascended to the throne upon Joram's death (2 Kgs 8:25-27). According to 2 Kgs 8-9, Ahaziah maintained the Omride-Judahite alliance and was killed while in Israel supporting Joram of Israel in his battle against the Arameans (2 Kgs 8:28-29; cf. 2 Kgs 9:14b-16). The biblical texts claim that Jehu killed Ahaziah and Joram during his uprising, though the Tel Dan stele complicates matters by claiming that Hazael of Aram killed both kings. Numerous scholars give priority to the stele's version of events, though Robker's observation that royal inscriptions can be just as biased as the biblical texts should be noted.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>7</sup> See, for example, Nadav Na'aman, "The Story of Jehu's Rebellion: Hazael's Inscription and the Biblical Narrative," *IEJ* 56 (2006): 160-166; Erhard Blum, "The

The identity of the killer of the kings remains unclear, though given that Jehu was supposedly fighting the Arameans at Ramoth-gilead when he decided to rebel, it may well be that an alliance existed between Jehu and Hazael and they both claimed credit for the deaths of Joram and Ahaziah. In any case, Ahaziah was the first king of Judah killed in battle and the untimely nature of his death is highlighted by the lack of an appropriate heir to succeed him.<sup>8</sup> Although the biblical texts claim that Athaliah murdered the Davidic claimants to the throne (2 Kgs 11:1-3), this was unlikely to be the case, not least because she would have needed a male heir to reign as regent.<sup>9</sup> In addition, 2 Kgs 10:13-14 states that Jehu killed forty-two relatives of Ahaziah at Beth-Eked, which may represent a pro-Omride delegation sent by Judah to either fight or negotiate with Jehu after Ahaziah's death.<sup>10</sup> If the reference to Jehu's slaughter of these princes is historical, then Athaliah may well have been the most senior royal available to act as regent when she ascended to the throne.<sup>11</sup> It thus appears that in the aftermath of Ahaziah's death Judah found itself bereft of candidates for the kingship, which resulted in Athaliah taking the throne.<sup>12</sup> The biblical authors

Relations between Aram and Israel in the 9<sup>th</sup> and 8<sup>th</sup> Centuries BCE: The Textual Evidence," in O. Sergi, M. Oeming and I.J. de Hulster (eds.), *In Search for Aram and Israel: Politics, Culture, and Identity* (ORA 20; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2016), 37-56; Jonathan Miles Robker, *The Jehu Revolution: A Royal Tradition of the Northern Kingdom and Its Ramifications* (BZAW 435; Berlin: De Gruyter, 2012), 265-274, esp. 292-295.

<sup>8</sup> Which explains the lack of reference to a successor in his epilogue (2 Kgs 9:27-28); Hutzli, "Observations," 177, 188.

<sup>9</sup> So Sergi, "Queenship in Judah," 105-110.

<sup>10</sup> As I have argued elsewhere; Cat Quine, "Jehu's Slaughter of Judah's Royal Family at Beth-Eked (2 Kings 10:13-14): A Closer Look," *ZAW* 131 (2019): 537-548. The reference in 2 Kgs 10:13 to the princes going down "for peace (לשלום) with the sons of the king and the sons of the queen mother" is important in this regard as it suggests a parallel between the brothers of Ahaziah and the Omrides Joram and Jezebel, both of whom mention peace immediately before Jehu kills them (2 Kgs 9:22, 31).

<sup>11</sup> E. Theodore Mullen Jr., *Narrative History and Ethnic Boundaries: The Deuteronomistic Historian and the Creation of Israelite National Identity* (SBLSS; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1993), 30-31.

<sup>12</sup> The serious nature of this crisis in Judahite royal circles should be acknowledged. Judah had never seemingly had a shortage of candidates for the throne nor had so many probable contenders been killed in a short space of time

evidently went to some efforts to present her reign as illegitimate, including attributing it to innocent bloodshed, omitting any formal regnal notices, and contrasting her presence in the palace with Joash's presence in the temple.<sup>13</sup> Yet, her six-year reign could not have been achieved without internal support and Jehoiada notably states during the coup that *any who follow her* should also be put to death (2 Kgs 11:15).<sup>14</sup>

At first glance, Athaliah's assassination solves the problem of her reign, for after her death, the new king Joash made a covenant with the people and destroyed the temple of Baal, at which the people of the land rejoiced, and the city was quiet (2 Kgs 11:17-20). The notice that the city was quiet is interesting and may be intended to clearly state – whether accurately or not – that no one offered any opposition to Joash's enthronement. Thus, according to the authors, with Joash's accession order was restored and the brief interruption to proper Davidic rule was dealt with. Subsequent chapters of 2 Kings, however, report continuing violence and bloodshed in Judah's royal court.

With Athaliah's assassination, the seven-year-old Joash was made king, under the supervision of the priest Jehoiada and he apparently ruled for forty years (2 Kgs 12:1-2). Joash's regnal summary largely concerns repairs and economic matters of the temple (2 Kgs 12:4-16), though it seems ironic that these efforts narratively culminate in him stripping the temple to pay off Hazael of Aram, who was threatening Jerusalem (2 Kgs 12:17-19). Although the items Joash took seem unconnected from the money used to pay for the temple repairs, Long observes that the votive offerings of Jehoshaphat, Joram and Ahaziah (2 Kgs 12:18) that he took were markers of the piety of his predecessors, following Asa's use of

(whether at the hands of Jehu, Athaliah, or other parties). Athaliah was undoubtedly a woman of very high standing, thanks to her northern royal origins and her previous roles as wife of the king and queen mother, but the fact remains that if a woman had to take the throne – even temporarily – the Davidic line was under serious threat.

<sup>13</sup> Dutcher-Walls, *Narrative Art, Political Rhetoric*, 69–83, esp. 69–73.

<sup>14</sup> Mullen Jr., *Narrative History*, 25; Sergi "Queenship in Judah," 108–110; Athalya Brenner-Idan, *The Israelite Woman: Social Role and Literary Type in Biblical Narrative* (Cornerstones; London: T&T Clark, 2015), 29–31.

temple treasures to pay Ben-Hadad of Aram for an alliance (1 Kgs 15:18-20).<sup>15</sup> Thus, the supposedly pious king raised in the temple handed the markers of his ancestors' piety over to a foreign king. Joash's reign concludes with the notice that his servants made a conspiracy and killed him. The exact location and circumstances of this assassination are unclear in the MT, but more interesting than the meaning of the **בַּת מֶלֶךְ** is the preservation of the names of the conspirators who killed the king.<sup>16</sup> In every other instance of royal assassination in Judah the perpetrators are not named; they are presented only as a vague plural group. For example, even with Athaliah, Jehoiada commands the coup but only a vague "they" – seemingly the captains of army – put her to death; no names are mentioned (2 Kgs 11:15-16). Similarly, "they" – apparently "all the people of Judah" (**כָּל-עַם יְהוּדָה**) – made a conspiracy against Amaziah and killed him at Lachish (2 Kgs 14:19-20), and unnamed "servants" killed Amon in his house (2 Kgs 21:23). Contrastingly, the conspirators behind royal assassinations in the northern kingdom of Israel are usually named in the biblical texts because they took the throne after their respective coups. The accounts of royal assassinations in Judah, however, usually distance everyone, especially other Davidides, from the bloodshed.<sup>17</sup>

<sup>15</sup> Long, *2 Kings*, p. 159–160.

<sup>16</sup> See G.H. Jones, *1 and 2 Kings, Volume II* (NCBC; London: Marshall, Morgan and Scott, 1984), 495–496 for a range of potential interpretive options for MT's **בַּת מֶלֶךְ הַיּוֹרֵד סֻלָּא**.

<sup>17</sup> The biblical texts usually report that those assassinating monarchs – and, in Israel, taking the throne – "conspire" (**קָשַׁר**) against them. Thus, in the northern kingdom Baasha (1 Kgs 15:27), Zimri (1 Kgs 16:9), Jehu (2 Kgs 9:14), Shallum (2 Kgs 15:10), Pekah (2 Kgs 15:25) and Hoshea (2 Kgs 15:30) all "conspire" their way to the throne. Only Omri (1 Kgs 16:16-17) and Menahem (2 Kgs 15:14) enacted a successful coup and were not said to have "conspired." Similarly, in Judah, Jozacar and Jehozabad, "they", and the servants of Amon, all "conspire" against Joash, Amaziah and Amon, respectively. Interestingly, despite the presentation of her reign as illegitimate, Athaliah is not said to have conspired her way to the throne in 2 Kgs 11 and nor is anyone specifically stated to have "conspired" against her; she cries "conspiracy, conspiracy" (**קָשַׁר קָשַׁר**) herself when she saw Joash in the temple (2 Kgs 11:14). As Jehoiada is not directly said to have "conspired," despite clearly doing so, this may suggest a different author for the Athaliah narrative or may indicate an attempt to absolve Jehoiada of his actions – presenting him as doing what he had to do rather than "conspiring." Alternatively, this could be



Quite why the names of Joash's murderers, Jozacar and Jehoabad, are recorded in 2 Kgs 12 is unclear; it may simply reflect the source material at the editors' disposal, or perhaps the two individuals were well known and may even have launched a bid for the throne themselves.<sup>18</sup> To be sure, this is speculative, but it seems that Joash's son Amaziah only succeeded him after a struggle – for “when the kingdom was firmly in his hand” (2 Kgs 14:5), the first act of Amaziah's reign was to execute those who killed his father. The only close parallel to this phrase is found in 1 Kgs 2:12 which states that Solomon's kingdom was “very firmly established” (וְתִכֵּן מַלְכוּתוֹ מְאֹד). Given that other chapters of Samuel and Kings report succession struggles surrounding Solomon's ascension to the throne, it may be that Joash's death prompted a succession struggle of some kind, won by Amaziah.<sup>19</sup> While Joash's reign began with a promising priestly start, Amaziah's began with a promising military start, defeating ten thousand Edomites and capturing Sela (2 Kgs 14:7), which then (slightly ironically) turned into military failure at the hands of Israel.<sup>20</sup> According to the text, the victory at Sela bolstered Amaziah's confidence to the extent that he sent messengers to Jehoash of Israel challenging him to battle (2 Kgs 14:8).<sup>21</sup> Jehoash, however, replied with a somewhat provocative fable emphasising Judah's lowly status – a thorn compared to Israel's

another way of the authors indicating the illegitimacy of Athaliah's rule by avoiding the term usually reserved for the deposition of the king.

<sup>18</sup> MT names the individuals as Jozabad (son of Shimat) and Jehoabad (son of Shomer): יֹזָבָד בֶּן־שִׁמְעָה וְיֹהָבָד בֶּן־שֹׁמֶר, though *BHS* notes that multiple other manuscripts preserve the name Jozacar ben Shimat (יֹזָכָר בֶּן־שִׁמְעָה) for the name of the first assassin.

<sup>19</sup> T.R. Hobbs, *2 Kings* (WBC 13; Nashville: Thomas Nelson, 1985), 179.

<sup>20</sup> Jones notes that the figure ten thousand appears in the numeration of Jehoahaz' army in 2 Kgs 13:7, while David was also said to have killed a large number of Edomites (18,000) in the same region as Amaziah (2 Sam 8:13); Jones, *1 and 2 Kings*, 508.

<sup>21</sup> Long observes that the words of Amaziah to Jehoash (לִכְהָ נִתְרָאָה פָּנִים) do not necessarily imply hostile force, though it is evidently interpreted that way; Long, *2 Kings*, 167.

cedar – and warned Amaziah to stay at home so that he might not fall and take Judah with him, which Amaziah ignored.<sup>22</sup>

As a result of the ensuing battle at Beth-Shemesh, Amaziah was captured, Jerusalem was attacked, the palace and temple ransacked, and some Judeans were taken as hostages (2 Kgs 14:8-14). No details are given about how (or if) Amaziah was released, nor about the identity and fate of those taken as hostages. Debate remains about the chronology of Amaziah's reign and that of his successor Azariah, which is complicated by the notice that Amaziah "lived" (not "reigned") for fifteen years after Jehoash's death (2 Kgs 14:17). These chronological problems raise questions about whether Jehoash appointed Amaziah's son Azariah as a regent after his victory.<sup>23</sup> Whatever the exact political situation, according to the biblical text, Amaziah was assassinated fifteen years after the defeat at Beth-Shemesh (2 Kgs 14:19) and "all the people of Judah" made his son Azariah king instead of him.

Given that longevity of rule, a peaceful death, and a secure succession was regarded as demonstrating a deity's blessing of a king, one might assume that Joash and Amaziah must have been sinful if

<sup>22</sup> The use of a fable usually indicates the wisdom of the one speaking it, serving here to highlight Jehoash's wisdom and Amaziah's folly, and is somewhat unexpected from 1-2 Kings which affords the Judahite kings preference over the Israelite kings at almost every other turn. Although it seems at first glance that Jehoash wished to avoid a battle, both Tatu and Eaton connect the use of similar fables to contests and Jehoash's words seem provocative. For Tatu, the similar fable of the thistle and cedar in Judg 9 could be considered a form of "contest literature," found commonly in verbal contests in ancient Near Eastern literature; Silviu Tatu, "Jotham's Fable and the *Crux Interpretum* in Judges IX," VT 56 (2006): 105-124. For Eaton, meanwhile, 2 Kgs 14:9 is an example of "flyting," which occurs in various forms but generally involves trading insults or provocations; M.R. Eaton, "Some Instances of Flyting in the Hebrew Bible," JSOT 61 (1994): 3-14. Certainly, the comparison of Judah to a thistle, Israel to a cedar, and the statement that Amaziah had become arrogant after his victory over Edom (הָכָה הַכִּית אֶת־אָדָם וְנִשְׂאָךְ לְבָךְ) seems derogatory, though these may well be the words of the editors following Judah's defeat rather than those of the king of Israel prior to it.

<sup>23</sup> See, for example, discussion in Hobbs, 2 Kings, p. 184-185; Cogan and Tadmor, II Kings, p. 158-159; K.T. Andersen, "Die Chronologie der Könige von Israel und Juda," ST 23 (1969): 69-114.

Yahweh permitted them to be assassinated and removed the responsibility of the succession out of their hands.<sup>24</sup> Yet, neither Joash nor Amaziah are described as sinful kings – both are said to have done “what was right in the eyes of Yahweh” (2 Kgs 11:2; 14:3), albeit neither removed the high places. The existence of the high places cannot have been enough to account for their assassinations, however, as Asa (1 Kgs 15:11-14) and Jehoshaphat (1 Kgs 22:43-44) had previously also been described positively but without removing the high places and they did not suffer the ignominy of assassination. In addition, whereas the coup against Athaliah was described in detail and justified through her portrayal as dangerous and illegitimate, neither Joash nor Amaziah’s assassinations are explained or justified in any way. How then do we explain the assassinations of two “good” kings?

As noted above, assassination of a monarch was a serious business, for monarchs were believed to be representatives of Yahweh on earth. Yet, the reports of assassinations and coups in the northern kingdom of Israel in 1-2 Kings are often unconcerned with the theological implications of such events, merely reporting who killed whom and who became king.<sup>25</sup> With regard to Judah, the theological transfer of royal status in contentious situations is textually indicated by the actions of the people. Thus, when Solomon and Joash are crowned the people rejoiced (1 Kgs 1:38-39; 2 Kgs 11:20), and after the assassinations of Amaziah and Amon, “all of Judah” and “the people of the land” chose Azariah and Josiah (two pious kings) as the next rulers (2 Kgs 14:21; 21:24).<sup>26</sup> This public acclaim seems designed to negate any suspicions the reader may

<sup>24</sup> See the discussion of royal longevity in the ancient Near East in David T. Lamb, *Righteous Jehu and his Evil Heirs: The Deuteronomist’s Negative Perspective on Dynastic Succession* (OTM; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 164–170.

<sup>25</sup> The exceptions to this rule, however, are found when a royal house was wiped out (see below) and, in particular, with Jehu’s coup which – uniquely amongst all the reports of Israelite and Judahite assassination and usurpation in 1-2 Kgs – was said to have been prophetically and divinely ordained (2 Kgs 9:1-6).

<sup>26</sup> In the cases of Solomon (1 Kgs 1:34-39) and Joash (2 Kgs 11:10-12), where the potential for internal dissent was especially high, the new king was also anointed and presented with indubitable symbols of royal status, designed to symbolically end any conflict; see, for example, discussion in Dutcher-Walls, *Narrative Art, Political Rhetoric*, 37–41, 80–82.

have. This seems especially true for the Amaziah-Azariah succession, where the unique statement that “all the people of Judah” made Azariah king may be designed to deflect attention from Jehoash’s possible involvement in Azariah’s enthronement.<sup>27</sup> It is clear, therefore, that the biblical authors wished to present the divinely ordained Davidic succession as stable and orderly, particularly in the face of conflict. This stability stands in clear comparison to the succession of the northern kingdom of Israel which rapidly changed hands. Yet, claims that Yahweh favoured Judah’s royal line over Israel’s would have proven problematic when three of its monarchs were assassinated in succession.

## II. North of the Border: The Favoured Jehuite Dynasty

Jehu son of Nimshi’s violent coup against the Omrides began a new chapter in Israel’s history in 1-2 Kings.<sup>28</sup> Preceded by a succession of “bad” Omride kings, Jehu’s coup was uniquely given prophetic and divine legitimation – no other usurper received such support in 1-2 Kgs.<sup>29</sup> 2 Kings 9 recounts that an anonymous prophet visited

<sup>27</sup> The only similar example of the people of Judah being collectively involved in king-making is 2 Sam 2:4, where the “men of Judah” (אֲנָשֵׁי יְהוּדָה) anoint David king.

<sup>28</sup> Much has been written on this coup and the questions surrounding Jehu’s legitimacy and bloodshed, e.g., Hannelis Schulte, “The End of the Omride Dynasty: Social-Ethical Observations on the Subject of Power and Violence,” *Semeia* 66 (1994): 133–148; Nadav Na’aman, “Jehu Son of Omri: Legitimizing a Loyal Vassal by his Overlord,” *IEJ* 48 (1998): 236–238; Michael S. Moore, “Jehu’s Coronation and Purge of Israel,” *VT* 53 Fasc. 1 (2003): 97–114; Susanne Otto, *Jehu, Elia und Elisa. Die Erzählungen von der Jehu-Revolution und die Komposition der Elia-Elisa-Erzählungen* (BWANT 152; Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 2001), 114–150; Marsha White, “Naboth’s Vineyard and Jehu’s Coup: The Legitimation of a Dynastic Extermination,” *VT* 44 (1994): 66–76.

<sup>29</sup> On the portrayal of Jehu and his coup see, for example, Tammi J. Schneider, “Rethinking Jehu,” *Biblica* 77 (1996): 100–107. Lissa M. Wray Beal contends that the Deuteronomistic approval of Jehu centres on his observation of correct Yahwistic worship and his obedience to Yahweh’s prophets in Lissa M. Wray Beal, *The Deuteronomist’s Prophet: Narrative Control of Approval and Disapproval in the Story of Jehu (2 Kings 9 and 10)* (LHBOTS 478; London: T&T Clark, 2007). Würthwein contends that

Jehu, anointed him king (2 Kgs 9:6) and gave him a divinely sanctioned mission to strike down the Omrides (2 Kgs 9:7-10). 2 Kings 10:30, meanwhile, states that *Yahweh spoke to Jehu* and promised him four generations of successors on the throne. While it is simple to propose that the prophetic anointing and message in 2 Kgs 9 was propaganda designed to legitimate Jehu's actions, the retention of this propaganda in a Judahite text is perhaps surprising.<sup>30</sup> 1-2 Kings often presents Israel and its kings as supposedly sinful and less favoured than Judah, yet here, Jehu is given a divine promise of succession while Judah's royal line experienced repeated upheavals.<sup>31</sup>

The positivity does not stop there. Despite statements that Jehu's successor Jehoahaz apparently did "what was evil in the eyes of Yahweh" and followed the sins of Jeroboam ben Nebat (2 Kgs 13:2), he also "*entreated Yahweh*" concerning the Aramean oppres-

the current portrayal of Jehu's coup underwent two redactional stages, wherein the Deuteronomist attempted to portray Jehu positively, in contrast to the previous presentation of him as a ruthless usurper; Ernst Würthwein, "Die Revolution Jehus: Die Jehu-Erzählung in altisraelitischer und deuteronomistischer Sicht," ZAW 120 (2008): 28-48.

<sup>30</sup> For the view that the Jehu narratives came from either Jehu's reign or that of his close successors see, for example, Robker, *The Jehu Revolution*, 17-62; Yoshikazu Minokami, *Die Revolution des Jehu* (ATG 38; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1989), 124-165; Ernst Würthwein, *Die Bücher der Könige: I Kön 17-II Kön 25* (ATD 11.2; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1984), 324-340; Baruch Halpern and André Lemaire, "The Composition of Kings," in *The Book of Kings: Source, Composition, Historiography and Reception*, eds. A. Lemaire and B. Halpern (VTS 129; Leiden: Brill, 2010), 123-153, esp. 145-148.

<sup>31</sup> Hutzli also observes that the four generations of Jehuite kings promised to Jehu (Jehu-Jeroboam II) all receive burial notices in their epilogues and are said to have acted with might (גבורה) – the latter adjective being reserved only for the Judahite kings Asa, Jehoshaphat and Hezekiah. The only other northern kings to receive such distinction are Baasha and Omri; see Hutzli, "Observations," 189-190. It is not entirely clear why Baasha and Omri receive distinction alongside the four Jehuite kings, but I would suggest the possibility that Baasha was deemed positive for ending the House of Jeroboam I (a fundamentally 'bad' king in the eyes of some editors) and Omri perhaps because he started a military uprising but is never stated directly to have killed his master (Zimri, 1 Kgs 16:18), nor his competitor for the throne (Tibni, 1 Kgs 16:21-23), which is unique amongst the coups of the northern kingdom reported in 1-2 Kings. The latter would explain why Omri, not Zimri (who ended the House of Baasha), receives the notice.

sion and “*Yahweh listened to him*” (2 Kgs 13:4) and “*gave Israel a saviour*” (2 Kgs 13:5). Jehoahaz’ successor Jehoash also receives the stereotypically negative statements about evil and Jeroboam (2 Kgs 13:11) but also “*wept before Elisha*” (2 Kgs 13:14), was promised that he would defeat the Arameans three times (2 Kgs 13:15–19, 24–25), and defeated the Davidide Amaziah and ransacked the temple of Yahweh in Jerusalem without consequences (2 Kgs 14:8–14). Meanwhile, Jehoash’s successor, Jeroboam II, is also said to have done evil, yet he restored the borders of Israel “*according to the word of Yahweh*” which came via the prophet Jonah son of Amittai (2 Kgs 14:25) and “*Yahweh saw Israel’s distress and saved them*” through the hand of Jeroboam (2 Kgs 14:26–27).<sup>32</sup> Lamb explains this disparity between the negative and positive material as a result of the Deuteronomist’s negative bias against dynastic succession, found also in presentations of Gideon, Eli and David’s reigns.<sup>33</sup> He further notes the tendency of the Deuteronomistic editor to emphasise Yahweh’s mercy rather than the individual worthiness of the Jehuite kings in these reports, especially with a view to Jehoash and Jeroboam II.<sup>34</sup> For Lamb, the Deuteronomist was a single author writing in the exilic period, seeking to explain the downfall of both

<sup>32</sup> Although some of these statements are evidently later Deuteronomistic additions, it seems that the source material the editors had was originally favourable toward the Jehuite kings. That said, the Jehuites’ paying tribute to the Assyrians is not recorded in these texts, so we only have a very limited presentation of events.

<sup>33</sup> He proposes that the Deuteronomist preferred charismatic to dynastic succession; Lamb, *Righteous Jehu*, 213–256.

<sup>34</sup> Lamb, *Righteous Jehu*, 195–196. Indeed, I would suggest that Jehoash’s victory at Beth-Shemesh appears to have been deliberately traced back to Yahweh’s favour for Jehu, via the double patronym given for him at the beginning of the battle account: “Jehoash son of Jehoahaz, son of Jehu, king of Israel” (2 Kgs 14:8). Nowhere else is Jehoash given such a long patronym. Even in the places where he is referred to formally, such as his regnal introduction (2 Kgs 13:10), Amaziah’s synchronised regnal introduction (2 Kgs 14:1), and his own death (2 Kgs 14:16–17), the patronym is only one generation long, referring to him as “Jehoash son of Jehoahaz.” In addition, none of the other kings of the Jehuite dynasty are given double patronyms at any point, which suggests that the patronym in 2 Kgs 14:8 is intended to specifically connect Jehoash to Jehu, which helps to explain his victory.

kingdoms which explains the focus on dynastic succession.<sup>35</sup> Although I agree with the probability of an exilic Deuteronomistic redaction, it seems plausible that some of the polemic against the Omrides – who ruled some 2-3 centuries before the exile – was written at an earlier date and the Deuteronomist worked with these texts.

This is the context in which we must consider the dialectic between the Jehuities' positive and negative portrayals. It is not simply interesting that Yahweh favoured them, but that Yahweh favoured them at a time when such favour is not reported for Judah.<sup>36</sup> Indeed, in the battle of Beth-Shemesh, it seems that Yahweh sided with Israel over Judah.<sup>37</sup> I contend, therefore, that the first concerns around dynastic succession and the Yahweh-Israel-Judah relationship likely arose for the first time in the eighth century when Israel's dynastic succession was considerably more successful than Judah's.<sup>38</sup> Early concerns about which kingdom Yahweh preferred would explain the creation of the polemic against the Omrides, Athaliah, and the Omride-Judahite alliance, to which later editors could add further theological evaluations. The dynastic struggles for Judah seemingly began with Athaliah's marriage into the Judahite royal household.

<sup>35</sup> Lamb, *Righteous Jehu*, 2–8, 256.

<sup>36</sup> Notably, while the Jehuities receive the positive theological comments noted above, no such positive theological reports are present in the regnal accounts of Athaliah, Joash, and Amaziah. Perhaps Athaliah is unsurprising in this regard, but even Joash, who was apparently raised in the temple and instructed by the priest Jehoiada "all his days," is not connected with any prophetic narrative, nor did Yahweh offer divine intervention when Hazael threatened Jerusalem. In 2 Kgs 14, Amaziah also did not explicitly seek prophetic or divine confirmation before proposing battle with Jehoash, and Yahweh showed no favour for Judah, nor for his own temple in the outcome of that battle.

<sup>37</sup> In an attempt to explain this situation, the Chronicler claims that Amaziah worshipped the gods of Edom and ignored a prophetic warning from Yahweh not to do so, thus Yahweh allowed Israel to defeat him (2 Chron 25:14–24). Such an attempt to offer an explanation indicates that, even centuries later, the relationship between Yahweh, Israel and Judah in the late ninth–eighth centuries presented issues for a pro-Judahite writer.

<sup>38</sup> Sergi also argues that the negative perspective of the Omrides was shaped sometime during the eighth century, though he does not fully elaborate on what may have caused it; Omer Sergi, "The Omride Dynasty and the Reshaping of the Judahite Historical Memory," *Biblica* 97 (2016): 503–526.

### III. Assassinations and Anti-Athaliah Polemic

The above discussion has considered the successive assassinations of Athaliah, Joash and Amaziah in contrast to the stability of the Jehu dynasty. I suggest that, due to the relative rarity of royal assassinations in Judah's history, the manner of these monarchs' deaths (rather than events during their lives) may help to explain the formation of polemic against the Omrides and Athaliah in particular. Although Jehoshaphat started Judah's alliance with the Omrides, it is during his grandson Ahaziah's reign that problems in Judah's dynastic succession began to appear. Following the untimely death of Ahaziah and his brothers, the two kingdoms took contrasting approaches to the Omrides: Jehu slaughtered them in Israel, while Judah enthroned Athaliah and seemingly replaced her with a part-Omride descendent, in the form of her grandson Joash (note 2 Kgs 11:2). Notably, 2 Kgs 12 is careful never to mention Joash's father but emphasises the role of the priest Jehoiada. Although this could reflect priestly influence, it also seems likely to be a literary device, wherein the priestly character serves to deflect attention from Joash's Omride heritage.<sup>39</sup>

If, indeed, Joash was Athaliah's grandson, then an anti-Omride agenda was not the primary concern in the assassination of Athaliah and the enthronement of her successor.<sup>40</sup> Rather, it may

<sup>39</sup> Long argues that priestly influence may underlie the narrative of 2 Kgs 11; Long, *2 Kings*, p. 161-162. Although this is possible – and Monroe has differently argued for a Holiness source underlying the reform account of 2 Kgs 23 (Lauren A.S. Monroe, *Josiah's Reform and the Dynamics of Defilement: Israelite Rites of Violence and the Making of a Biblical Text*, [Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011] – it seems to me that Jehoiada's presence serves as a distraction. He takes on the gap filled by the lack of a father, appearing directly after Joash's regnal summary (2 Kgs 12:1-2) and apparently instructing Joash "all his days." In truth, it could be doing both: perhaps Jehoiada's role originally served to deflect attention away from Joash's heritage and, in so doing, created an opportunity for priestly influence to enter the texts.

<sup>40</sup> Indeed, an anti-Omride, pro-Jehuite agenda seems unlikely given that Jehu was not exactly favourable to Judah. He reportedly killed the Judahite king and a number of princes and ended what had been a fruitful alliance between Judah and Israel. Despite the machinations of the text, therefore, it seems unlikely that Athaliah was killed as an anti-Omride move.



simply have been an internal power shift. The anti-Omride agenda may, therefore, have been the product of the biblical editors, rather than the fruits of a historical anti-Omride development in Judah's ninth-century political circles. If so, then perhaps it was Athaliah's proximity to upheaval and assassination in Judah's royal circles that may have singled her out as a target for polemic. With her son (and perhaps others; 2 Kgs 10:13-14) dying on a foreign battlefield, her assassination, and that of two of her successors, it seems that her entry into Judah coincided with, and was followed by, significant problems in Davidic royal circles. In addition, while the four generations of Judah's monarchs from Ahaziah-Amaziah all met untimely deaths, the four generations of Israel's monarchs from Jehu-Jeroboam II enjoyed unprecedented dynastic stability and defeated Judah in battle. To later writers, particularly in the wake of Israel's victory at Beth-Shemesh, it may have appeared that with Jehu's coup against the Omrides, Yahweh's blessing of the Davidides had been transferred to the Jehuites. The balance was textually restored when "all the people of Judah" intervened in the Judahite succession and made Azariah king, who proved to be pious, while Jeroboam II's successor Zechariah was assassinated (2 Kgs 15:8-10).

#### **IV. Conclusions**

Although previous scholars have noted Athaliah's proximity to upheaval in Judah's royal line, this paper has argued that we should also consider the continuation of this upheaval even after Athaliah's death. In this light, I contend that the biblical authors may have been inspired to create the anti-Athaliah polemic due to the manner of the deaths of Judah's monarchs from Ahaziah-Amaziah, which stands in stark contrast to the stability of Israel from Jehu-Jeroboam II. This may also explain why Athaliah is presented as the major threat to Judah's royal line, despite Jehoshaphat being the one who started the Omride-Judahite alliance. For while he

does not fully escape without blame, Jehoshaphat is not remembered as harshly as Athaliah.<sup>41</sup> This may be because he handed over the throne to his son Joram successfully, and Joram himself successfully handed over the throne to Ahaziah.<sup>42</sup> Athaliah, meanwhile, saw her son killed in battle, and started a unique sequence of three assassinations of Judah's monarchs. I propose, therefore, that in this case we should take into account the politics surrounding the deaths of the monarchs just as much as events during their lives. Notably, communicating the manner and significance of a royal death takes only a few words, whereas entire annals would be needed to communicate all the actions of a monarch during their life. Depending on the sources available to them, later biblical editors may have had more information about the deaths of the kings than their actions during their lives and if so, then assassinations and conspiracies probably served as clearer indicators of problems than did peaceful burials.

<sup>41</sup> Although Jehoshaphat seems to be portrayed positively at first, note especially Sergi's comments on Jehoshaphat's continuous military defeats in Sergi, "The Omride Dynasty", 512–522.

<sup>42</sup> Hutzli argues that dying peacefully *and* handing over the throne successfully to one's son is what fulfilled the criteria for the epilogue notice "he slept with his fathers," which Jehoshaphat (1 Kgs 22:50) and Joram (2 Kgs 8:24) receive but Ahaziah and Athaliah do not; Hutzli, "Observations," 179–183.

# The Use of נחל in Deuteronomy 32:8: G. R. Driver and the Dictionary of Classical Hebrew

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**Abstract.** Using modern methods of semantic analysis, this article examines G. R. Driver's note in *Vetus Testamentum* 2 (1952) wherein he proposed that נחל as used in Deut. 32:8 referred to sifting the nations against the prevailing understanding of this word. His proposal has been perpetuated through standard reference works of biblical scholarship today – particularly the nine-volume *Dictionary of Classical Hebrew*, and the *Deuteronomy* volume of the *Word Biblical Commentary*. The analysis in this article concludes that Driver's identification of the parallelism (that נחל and פרד are parallels that should be read together) in the text should be upheld while his conclusion whereby he reads נחל in the sense of “sifting” need not be retained.

**Résumé.** À l'aide de méthodes modernes d'analyse sémantique, cet article revient sur la suggestion de G. R. Driver selon laquelle נחל en Deut 32,8 évoque le passage des nations au crible. Sa proposition a été retenue par des ouvrages de référence tels que le *Dictionary of Classical Hebrew* ou le volume du *Word Biblical Commentary* consacré au Deutéronome. La présente étude conclut que l'identification par Driver d'un parallélisme entre נחל et פרד doit être maintenue sans qu'il soit besoin d'attribuer à נחל le sens proposé par Driver.

**Keywords.** Deuteronomy 32, nations, 4QDeut<sup>j</sup>, inheritance, sons of God, sons of Israel

## 1. Introduction

The discovery of 4QDeut<sup>j</sup> has drawn significant attention among scholars to Deut. 32:8. Much has been written on this single verse from both textual criticism and exegetical perspectives focusing specifically on the theologically significant word variation between the Hebrew reading in the MT “sons of Israel” and the DSS

reading “sons of God” corroborating the LXX reading of the same verse.<sup>1</sup> This paper focuses on the use of נָחַל in that same text.

G. R. Driver in the mid-twentieth century proposed an alternative reading for the use of נָחַל in Deut. 32:8. That proposal is significant mainly because of its continuing significance to contemporary biblical scholarship as reflected in such reference works as the *Dictionary of Classical Hebrew* (hereafter DCH); and the Deuteronomy volume of the *Word Biblical Commentary*.<sup>2</sup>

## 2. Driver’s Argument

Driver’s argument is not lengthy, so we can review it here in detail. He stated:

The translation of *b’hanhêl ‘elyôn goyim* as ‘when the Most High gave to the nations their inheritance’ (R.V.) can hardly be right in view of the parallel clause, which describes the time ‘when He separated the children of men’ (R.V.). The reference is clearly to the remote age when God first distributed peoples and nations over the surface of the habitable world, so that *b’haprîdô* properly means ‘when He scattered’ or ‘sowed’ them like grains of sand or seed on the earth; and clearly something *eiusdem generis* must be intended by the parallel verb. This therefore cannot be the causative theme of *nāḥal (h)* ‘inherited, possessed’ but must come from *nāḥal (h)* ‘sifted, passed through a sieve’; the clause will then mean ‘when the Most High sprinkled’ or ‘strewed the nations (as) through a sieve’, *i.e.* disposed of them as units about the world. In other words, God strews the nations like grains of

<sup>1</sup> See for instance Jan Joosten, “A Note on the Text of Deuteronomy xxxii 8,” VT 57 (2007): 448; Emanuel Tov, *The Greek and Hebrew Bible: Collected Essays on the Septuagint*. (Leiden: Brill, 1999), 290; Emanuel Tov, *Textual Criticism of the Hebrew Bible* (3rd edition, Minneapolis, MN: Fortress Press 2012), 248-249; Emanuel Tov *Text-Critical Use of the Septuagint* (3rd edition, Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns 2015), 146, Michael Fishbane, *Biblical Interpretation in Ancient Israel* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1985), 69.

<sup>2</sup> David J.A. Clines, ed., *Dictionary of Classical Hebrew* (Sheffield: Sheffield Phoenix Press, 2011), 5:567; Duane L. Christensen, *Deuteronomy 21:10-34:12* (WBC 6B, Dallas, TX: Word 2002), 796.

corn passed through a sieve and distributes them of the earth like grain on the heaps on the threshing floor. This interpretation of the verb, which is supported by several of the Versions (LXX, Vulg., Pesh.), yields the required sense and does no violence to the language; for the *vnhl* is *gemeinsemitisch* and indeed has been found elsewhere in the Old Testament.<sup>3</sup>

### 3. Views on Driver's Argument

English translations in use today did not accept Driver's proposal, though this fact does not necessarily imply that he was in error. In contrast, some of the best-known reference works for biblical research have preserved his view to various degrees.

HALOT notes Driver's stance as contrasting that of C. Steuernagel and E. Dhorme; and also that בָּהֶנֶחַל is parallel to בְּהַפְרִידוֹ in Deut. 32:9 but does not include "to sift" as one of the possible readings for נָחַל in Biblical Hebrew.<sup>4</sup>

DCH on the other hand presents two possible senses for the hiphil of נָחַל in Deut. 32:8 – to "Cause to inherit, leave an inheritance to, give as an inheritance, allot;" and "to sift." However, it puts a note of caution in each of the two cases by each time putting the alternative option in parentheses. Similarly, it allows for a second sense for נָחַל in the qal, piel, niphal, and hiphil with parenthetical comments of caution. The sense of the hiphil "sift, sprinkle (as through a sieve)"<sup>5</sup> given by DCH suggests a clear awareness of Driver's article, due to the identical vocabulary.

Christensen's commentary on Deut. 32:8 builds on Driver's argument by simply quoting it and mentioning etymology as the basis for his reasoning.<sup>6</sup> Thus, Christensen helpfully makes explicit what Driver left implicit in his article.

<sup>3</sup> G.R. Driver "Three Notes" VT 2 (1952), 356-357.

<sup>4</sup> HALOT, 686.

<sup>5</sup> DCH, 5: 656, 657.

<sup>6</sup> Christensen, *Deuteronomy*, 796.

## 4. Issues Examined

These later authoritative sources evidently found some merit in Driver's reasoning (though HALOT differs with him). However, subsequent advances in biblical scholarship justify a reconsideration of the assertions and assumptions that led Driver to this conclusion.

### a. Synonymy in Parallelism

At the time of the publication of Driver's article, the leading voice in the interpretation of parallelism in biblical poetry was Robert Lowth who articulated his view on the topic in his 1753 work *De sacra poesi Hebraeorum* (*Lectures on the Sacred Poetry of the Hebrews*) and his 1778 volume *Isaiah: A New Translation with a Preliminary Dissertation and Notes Critical, Philological, and Explanatory*. Adele Berlin points out the longstanding influence of the Lowthian view thus: "Studies of parallelism from the late 18th century until the 1980s reiterated, with ever-increasing refinements, the basic sameness of parallel lines."<sup>7</sup> This was the context of Driver's research. However, such influential works as James Kugel's *Idea of Biblical Poetry: Parallelism and Its History*, and Robert Alter's *Art of Biblical Poetry*, caution modern scholars against reading parallelism in terms of synonymy as it has been found to be rare in biblical poetry.<sup>8</sup>

Therefore, in light of current scholarly standards, asserting synonymy would require logical defence. Not surprisingly, such a defence is missing in Driver's argument since the prevailing assumptions of his day would not have prompted him to see the need to provide one.

Kugel, who views the Lowthian approach to synonymous parallelism as "wrongheaded," argues that the number of senses that

<sup>7</sup> Adele Berlin, "Parallelism," ABD, 5:155.

<sup>8</sup> David M. Howard "Recent Trends in Psalms Study," in *The Face of Old Testament Studies: A Survey of Contemporary Approaches*, (Ed., David W. Baker and Bill T. Arnold; Grand Rapids, MI: Baker 1999), 350-352; Robert Alter, "Characteristics of Ancient Hebrew Poetry," in *Literary Guide to the Bible* (Ed. Robert Alter and Frank Kermode; Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1987), 615.

can be deduced from a parallel structure may be indefinite.<sup>9</sup> Driver seems to recognize this fact in his assertion that “clearly something *eiusdem generis* must be intended by the parallel verb.” Thus, he had to give a reason for choosing a particular sense from a number of unstated options. He tried to do this by excluding the “causative theme of *nāḥal (h)*” from the set of options. But the hiphil stem is known to be basically causative<sup>10</sup> and בָּהֲנִיחַל as used here is a hiphil form.<sup>11</sup> So, Driver’s inference that “This therefore cannot be the causative theme of *nāḥal (h)*” requires an accounting for the hiphil form. Such an account is missing.

Still, even if this hiphil form were accounted for, this elimination might not have left only one option remaining. Hence, Driver’s conclusion that the intended sense “must come from *nāḥal (h)* ‘sifted, passed through a sieve’” would be a logical leap.

## b. Morphological Issues

The verb stem for נָחַל in Deut. 32:8 is a hiphil; its form in Ps 82:8 is a qal; and the verb root in Ezek. 22:16 is disputed (it is either a niphil form for חָלַל or a qal, not hiphil form for נָחַל). Again the sense of פָּרַד as “to scatter” is attested only in the hithpael (Ps 92:10; Job 4:11)<sup>12</sup> whereas the form בָּהֲפָרִידוּ which occurs in Deut 32:8 is from a hiphil stem. Driver draws conclusions from these data without accounting for these grammatical differences. Moreover, the morphological uncertainties about the verb root in Ezek. 22:16 vitiate his case. These uncertainties are visible in the divergent views expressed by most English Bible translations today, which render

<sup>9</sup> Kugel, *Idea of Biblical Poetry*, 58; see also Adele Berlin, *Dynamics of Biblical Parallelism*, rev. ed., Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2008), 64.

<sup>10</sup> P. Joüon and T. Muraoka, *Grammar of Biblical Hebrew*, (2nd ed., Subsidia Biblica 27; Rome: Gregorian and Biblical Press 2013), 150.

<sup>11</sup> GKC, 146.

<sup>12</sup> DCH 6: 755; HALOT, 962.

נָחַלָה in Ezek. 22:16 as coming from the root חָלַל (to profane, to dishonour)<sup>13</sup> instead of נָחַל (to possess, to take inheritance).<sup>14</sup>

### c. Cotext Historicity

Driver considers Ps 82:8 and Ezek. 22:16 as cotexts for his semantic work on a word in Deut. 32. A cursory look, however, shows that these passages may not be from the same historical period; and as Avi Hurvitz convincingly argues, the Hebrew of Biblical texts is not homogenous, considering its diachronic features; and that the Hebrew of the book of Ezekiel shows a transition between classical and late Biblical Hebrew.<sup>15</sup> Paul Sanders draws attention to the fact that the Song of Moses (cast in archaic Hebrew) has existed since pre-exilic times (around the eighth century BCE).<sup>16</sup> Scholars vary significantly in their dating of Ps. 82, though most commentators in recent times support dating it not earlier than the exilic period.<sup>17</sup> Driver's use of Ps 82:8 and Ezek. 22:16 as cotexts for his semantic work on a word in Deut. 32 without any explanation shows no sensitivity to diachrony in Biblical Hebrew. Probably this is because later developments in scholarship made the relevant data available after his time.

<sup>13</sup> NIV, ESV, NLT, NIV, NKJV, NASB.

<sup>14</sup> KJV, BRG (Blue Red and Gold Letter Edition), DRA (Douay-Rheims 1899 American Edition), GNV (1599 Geneva Bible), JUB (Jubilee Bible 2000), WYC (Wycliffe Bible).

<sup>15</sup> See Avi Hurvitz, *Concise Lexicon of Late Biblical Hebrew: Linguistic Innovations in the Writings of the Second Temple Period* (VT Sup 160; Leiden: Brill, 2014), 3; Avi Hurvitz, "The Historical Quest for 'Ancient Israel' and the Linguistic Evidence of the Hebrew Bible: Some Methodological Observations," VT 47.3 (1997): 301-315.

<sup>16</sup> H.G.M. Williamson, "Review of *The Provenance of Deuteronomy 32* (Oudtestamentsche Studien 37) Leiden: Brill, 1996 by Paul Sanders," *Vetus Testamentum* 47 (1997), 276.

<sup>17</sup> Mitchell Dahood, *Psalms II: 51-100* (AYBC, New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2008), p. 268; Erhard Gerstenberger, *Psalms Part 2, and Lamentations* (FOTL 15, Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2001), pp. 114-115; Frank-Lothar Hossfeld, Erich Zenger, *Psalms 2: A Commentary on Psalms 51-100* ed., Linda M. Maloney, and Klaus Baltzer (Hermeneia, Minneapolis, MN: Fortress Press, 2005), p. 332; Marvin E. Tate, *Word Biblical Commentary: Psalms 51-100* (WBC 20, Dallas, TX: Word, 2002), p. 333.



#### **d. Place of Versional Evidence**

Driver's analysis of פָּרַד relies on textual support from the LXX, the Vulgate and the Peshitta first; then he draws his inference regarding the Hebrew use of נחל from the findings he has made from those versions. The especially surprising aspect of this approach is that פָּרַד is not a *hapax legomenon*. Even if it were, one would rather expect the search to start with cognate Semitic languages before going to ancient Greek or Latin versions.

#### **e. The Place of Etymology and Comparative Semitics**

The claim “*√nhl* is *gemeinsemitisch*” suggests that etymology is the basis for Driver's conclusion about the meaning of the verb. According to HALOT and Christensen, Driver relies on an Arabic cognate *naḥala*. However, since the publication of James Barr's *Semantics of Biblical Language* there has been a shift away from reliance on etymology unless it becomes necessary due to lack of sufficient lexical data.<sup>18</sup>

Similarly, with regard to the semantic value of cognate languages, the authors of the DCH hold that Akkadian and Arabic cognates are theoretically and practically irrelevant to semantic analysis of Biblical Hebrew.<sup>19</sup> This assertion leaves the reader wondering why an entry in this dictionary should rely on a prior article that used etymology as the main basis for its conclusion, when sufficient lexical data exist, to establish such a meaning synchronically.

### **5. Conclusion**

From the foregoing discussion, it is evident that aspects of Driver's analysis have become obsolete due to developments in biblical

<sup>18</sup> Barr 1961, pp. 107-160.

<sup>19</sup> Clines 1993, pp. 17-18.

scholarship and in the study of linguistics. Methodological weaknesses in Driver's approach that were not recognized at the time of his publication are now widely established. Aspects of his proposal that remain valid, such as his recognition that נחל and פרד are parallels that should be read together are worth preserving. However, there is no need to retain the conclusion drawn from the flawed aspects of Driver's analysis, not even with caution, as the DCH does, and certainly not without caution as Christensen does.

# Achaemenid Deportations: Greek Perceptions, Persian Realities

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**Résumé.** Les déportations achéménides ont été un phénomène réel et il n'y a aucune raison de douter de leur existence. Cependant, le manque de sources persanes à cet égard nous oblige à dépendre des auteurs classiques. Les représentations des déportations achéménides furent bientôt altérées par l'influence des idées grecques sur le despotisme oriental. Ainsi, il y a plusieurs clichés et exagérations dans les récits grecs qui cachent les faits historiques. La détection et l'analyse de ces déformations historiographiques et littéraires sont essentielles à toute étude sur les déportations de l'empire achéménide. Dans cet article, nous cherchons donc à évaluer de manière critique les récits existants dans les sources grecques et à retrouver la réalité historique sous-jacente dépourvue de tout préjugé et stéréotype ancien et moderne.

## Introduction\*

History is not always written by the winners. In the case of the Achaemenid deportations, the main corpus of extant pieces of evidence comes from Classical authors. The only exception is a sole document from Babylon about some Sidonian young women and even so, we only can conclude they were really deportees after Diodorus' account on Artaxerxes III's suppression of Tenes' rebellion in 345<sup>1</sup> (ABC no. 9; D.S. XVI. 43.1-45. 6; Oros. *Hist.* III. 7.8; Georg. Sync. I. 486.16 D). Of course, we have plenty of examples of people from

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<sup>1</sup> If not otherwise stated, all the dates in this paper are BCE.

all over the Empire moving here and there (Henkelman and Stolper, 2009) – especially in capital centres. The figure of *kurtaš*, workers of different origins provided for by the state, appears in many Persepolis tablets. This title refers to men, women and children ordered to perform different productive tasks. However, their political-economic position is not clear and researchers have disagreed about their status (cf. Dandamaev and Lukonin 1991: 235–268; Aperghis 2000; Briant 2002: 429–439). Were they slaves, deportees, State-paid workers? Each of these options would imply a different set of socio-political and economic conditions. For this reason, it is advisable to rule out the *kurtaš* from our study. Furthermore, although the presence of contingents of different origins has been verified, it is also preferable to leave out conscriptions, garrisons and military colonies; since these were governed by a completely different system, their legal condition would be different (Tuplin 1987; Briant 2002: 783–800).

But having to rely on Classical accounts implies to deal with very partial sources. First of all, the majority of deportation instances are found in Herodotus, most of them from Darius I's reign<sup>2</sup>. Dating to that period, we have several examples to compare, but we have just a bunch of scattered cases from the rest of Great Kings' reigns. The geographical scope, both in Herodotus and the rest of authors, is clearly restricted to the Greek world and nearby areas<sup>3</sup> – we ignore what happened in the easternmost part of the Empire. In addition, all the cases are related to military conquests or rebellion's suppressions. Therefore, the available data imply an overrepresentation of a certain chronological, geographical and circumstantial background – and from a particular point of view.

Our dependence on Greek authors also means a very biased account of the deportations, especially when involving Greek communities. In consequence, as we will see, the exaggerations and the misunderstandings are found everywhere. The recall of those up-

<sup>2</sup> See Table 1 (with full references).

<sup>3</sup> The Classical sources only record cases in Thrace (Paeonians), Egypt and Phoenicia (Sidon). The episode of the Jews deported by Artaxerxes III is only known through Jewish and Christian authors.

rooted was preserved in the collective memory for centuries. Perhaps the most telling case is that of the Eretrians (Hdt. VI. 94. 2; 101.3; 107.2; 119; Pl. *Leg.* 698c-d, *Menex.* 240a-b). They were transferred to Ardericca (Cissia) by Darius I<sup>4</sup>, but they were ‘rediscovered’ by Philostratus’ Apollonius of Tyana about five centuries later (Philostr. VA. 23-24<sup>5</sup>). Also, the Branchidae were found by Alexander the Great and their extermination was regarded as a fair compensation from their treason one century and a half earlier (Hdt. VI. 19.3; Curt. VII. 5.28-35; Str. XI. 11.4, XIV. 1.5, XVII. 1.43; Plut. *Mor.* 557b; Paus. I. 16.3; Suda s.v. Βραγχίδαι<sup>6</sup>).

The Greek deportees became a *topos* in Greek sources as clearly shows this passage from Xenophon, evoking the countless countrymen moved due to Great King’s will:

And how many others, do you suppose, have been kidnapped on account of their wisdom, and haled off (ἀνασπάστους) to the great King’s court, and live in slavery there? (X. *Mem.* IV. 2.33, transl. Marchant 1923).

Despite its brevity, this passage is very interesting because it sums up the essence of the Greek image on Persian deportations. As we will see, these numberless transplanted seem not to have been that many. The sentence also evokes the Orientalistic portrait of the Persian king as a despot. Everything is made at his pleasure and everybody is a slave, but him. The preservation and reformulation of these memories helped to fix and enlarge very tendentious accounts destined to show the Greeks as the innocent and pitiful victims of the Achaemenid Empire. From their perspective, the fate of

<sup>4</sup> Ardericca would have been in modern Kir-Ab, 35 miles from Susa. It was not the same that the Babylonian one mentioned by Herodotus (I. 185.2), see How and Wells 1912, *ad. loc.*; Grosso 1958: 350-351; Scott 2005: 399-401. Cf. Strabo (XVI. 1.25), who placed them in Gordyene; see note 33.

<sup>5</sup> On the particularities of this late source, see Grosso 1958: 357-368; Penella 1974.

<sup>6</sup> In the site of Dilberdjīn (Afghanistan) were discovered a couple of amphorae with the words βροχγιδες and βρογγεες inscribed, which have been reconstructed as βροαγγιδ(ων) or βραγγιδῶν. However, these amphorae have been dated to Kushan period. See Kulesza 1994: 245-246; Hammond 1998: 339 n. 2; Kubica 2016: 144.

everyone under the Persian yoke was the enslavement. That loss of freedom also implied the incapacity of preserving their own political systems and, in consequence, it was considered a risk for the continuity of the civic community, their culture and lifestyle (Tuplin 2007).

The key factor for feeling sorry for the deportees was their isolation from the Greek world. The will of the inhabitants from Phocaea (Hdt. I. 164-167), Theos (Hdt. I. 168), Byzantium and Chalcedon (Hdt. VI. 33) to leave their homeland in order to avoid being captured by the Persians clearly shows that there was no real attachment to the land itself. They moved from their territory, but they were still integrated into the Greek community in their new locations. There were further plans for moving the Ionians to Thrace, Sardinia or mainland Greece during the Ionian Revolt and the Persian Wars (Hdt. V. 124.1-126.2, IX. 106.2-4). The true fear was to lose their identity and become 'barbarous'. The key element was not the land, but the sea, the common sea that bounded together the Greek communities (AP. VII. 256, 259).

It is interesting to take a look at the words used by the Greek authors when writing about deportations. There was no exclusive word for 'deportation' in Ancient Greek (cf. Garland 2014: 80)<sup>7</sup>. Herodotus used normally the word ἀνασπαστός. It had different meanings like "drawn up", "drawn back", "opened from the inside", "removed hastily" and "latchet" (LSJ s.v. ἀνασπαστός). But on what concerns us, the word is usually understood as meaning "dragged up the country"<sup>8</sup>. There is a more or less clear connotation of being moved to the inner country or away from the sea and the consequent uprooting. Therefore, for the Greeks, there was a combination of two elements – enslavement and isolation – converging in a terrifying effect: the loss of their own identity.

The word ἀνασπαστός was not exclusive of Herodotus, but we find it with the same meaning in the previous passage from Xenophon (see above), in Ctesias (*Pers.* F13.10<sup>9</sup>), in Arrian (*An.* III. 8.5,

<sup>7</sup> It has been suggested that the Aramean word for deportation could have been šrš (Ezra 7.26); see Oded 1979: 43; Asheri *et al.* 2007: 490.

<sup>8</sup> See Hdt. V. 106.4: [...] ἀπὸ θαλάσσης ἀνάσπαστον ποιήσας.

<sup>9</sup> He used the word in the episode of Cambyse's deportation of the Egyptian artisans (see Table 1).

11.5<sup>10</sup>) and in Flavius Josephus (*Ap.* I. 194<sup>11</sup>). Besides, the word was also employed to designate certain people exiled to Eretrian Sea islands. It seems that it was a recurrent practice because in Herodotus (III. 93.2; VII. 80) we found they formed their own squadron in the Persian army. Ctesias (*Pers.* F14.43) tells the story of Megabyzus, who was banished there by Artaxerxes I. A very resembling episode is found in Strabo (XVI. 3.5), this time concerning Mithropastes and Darius III. There are other instances affecting eunuchs or nobles sent to Armenia, Scythia or India<sup>12</sup>. These cases show that it was applied to distinguished members of the Achaemenid administration or court. It seems it was a punishment for certain not-too-serious faults. It was temporary and the king concerned eventually ended up forgiving and reinstating them in their former posts once their loyalty had been satisfactorily checked. Even though they cannot be properly defined as deportees, these cases are noteworthy because they can give us important keys when evaluating the nature and goals of certain types of Achaemenid deportations<sup>13</sup>.

## Types of deportations

The generic name ‘deportation’ groups together processes of a different nature in terms of application and effect<sup>14</sup>. Although they are not always fully differentiable, deportations had both a political and an economic impact. The segment of the population relocated is a determining factor to gauge which of these two effects was more relevant in each case. The circumstances of subjugation

<sup>10</sup> In this case, applied to some Carians fighting in Darius III’s army against Alexander. The presence of Carians settlers in the Near East predated the Achaemenid Empire, see, for example, Waerzeggers 2006. In consequence, these contingents cannot be conclusively related to any actual Persian deportation.

<sup>11</sup> When describing Artaxerxes III’s deportation of the Jews ca. 345.

<sup>12</sup> Artoxares, a eunuch, was sent to Armenia by Artaxerxes I during the same events that prompted Megabyzus’ exile to the Eretrian Sea islands: *Ctes. Pers.* F14.43. Darius I would have sent to Scythia and India some noblemen accused of plotting against him: *Ael. VH.* VI. 14.

<sup>13</sup> Besides, Flavius Josephus (*AJ.* XIV. 142) used the word ἀνασπαστός in his account of the displacement of the Hasmonean king Aristobulus II to Rome.

<sup>14</sup> For a complete account of all the known episodes of Persian deportations, see Mendoza 2016. For a summary, see Table 1.

also appear to intervene in this aspect. After analysing the pieces of evidence, it is possible to find resembling characteristics between different cases and to group them in three main types: economic, punitive and political deportations. There are other episodes that cannot be categorized due to the lack of enough information about their characteristics.

Before focusing on every category, we should take a look at the figures. It is not easy to have an exact assessment of how many people were deported in every case. As already stated, the Greek sources were clearly exaggerating. For example, Herodotus many times says – or implies – that the whole or a great majority of the affected population was transferred<sup>15</sup>. But the same historical sources contradict themselves<sup>16</sup>. Maybe a good example is that from Miletus. Herodotus (VI. 19.3-20.2) says that its whole population was annihilated, enslaved or deported. Even so, only fifteen years later, a Milesian contingent was big enough to betray the Persians and kill a great number of them (Hdt. IX. 99.3, 104). Additionally, in the list of the city's eponymous magistrates, there is no gap after the Persian attack (SIG 322). We find a similar situation in Eretria. Herodotus tells that the great majority of the population was moved, but they provided seven vessels in the battles of Artemisium and Salamis (Hdt. VIII. 1.2, 46.2), and part of a six-hundred-soldier contingent in Plataea (Hdt. IX. 28.5). In all the places where there are available data – either textual or archaeological – we find a limited affectation and a fast recovery of the population not compatible with the loss of the whole or a very significant part of the population<sup>17</sup>. Moreover, if we calculate the costs of those alleged mass deportations, they are exorbitant and completely unaffordable (Mendoza 2016: 94-96). In the case of the Greek and nearby communities, it would have entailed also naval stages, adding more logistical difficulties<sup>18</sup>. So, as I concluded elsewhere (Mendoza 2018:

<sup>15</sup> See, e.g., Hdt. IV. 202.2 (Barca), V. 15.3 (Paeonia), VI. 101.3 (Eretria).

<sup>16</sup> On the following examples, see Mendoza 2016: 96-97.

<sup>17</sup> On the case of Miletus, see the summary of evidence found in Scott 2005: 116-118. For Eretria, see the demographic studies by Knoepfler 1997: 371-373; and Hansen 2006: 61-88.

<sup>18</sup> For example, a journey from Eretria to Susa would have implied 79 days at least, including about 20 days of sea navigation. See Scott 2006: 460, 490.



13), the total figures should have been more modest, at least in the cases compiled in the sources. Therefore, after examining the cases, a more probable number would be about one thousand at the most (cf. Scott 2005: 619-620). Therefore, the figure of 780 deportees – 410 survivors – from Philostratus (VA. I. 23) would not be far-fetched<sup>19</sup>.

### Economic deportations

This first type implied the relocation of specialized workers (Mendoza 2018: 13-14). Among the Achaemenid deportations certified, the case of Egyptian artisans moved by Cambyses to Susa (Ctes. *Pers.* F13.10; D.S. I. 46.4; cf. PF 1557) can be included under this typology and, more questionably, those of the Greeks found by Alexander in Persepolis (Curt. V. 5.5-6, 9; D.S. XVII. 69.2-4, 6-8). This variant would not be applied systematically after the conquest and would rather respond to specific labour needs. As such, it would not affect different demographic sectors. In fact, it could probably be performed without the need for a war context, as seen in the dubious Greek case. These specialised workers, as can be seen, were relocated to central regions in the empire. Although it would not be the main objective, the economic impact both in the zone of

<sup>19</sup> The sources indicate that 6,000 Egyptian artisans were moved to Susa (see below). A tablet (PF 1557) from the era of Darius I (501/0), certifies the relocation of 547 Egyptians from Susa to the area of Persepolis. It is possible that these could be the same individuals or, more likely, their descendants. Ctesias (*Pers.* F13.10) estimates a figure of 6,000 artisans. This number seems somewhat exaggerated and even more so if it is related to the similarly excessive 50,000 Egyptians and 7,000 Persians allegedly killed in battle. As regards those mentioned on the tablet, perhaps the artisans relocated should be estimated as 600, which would be more consistent with that exposed above. Nevertheless, the preserved figure cannot be completely rejected, since the estimations of the scope of the deportations concerned the Hellenic cases. In other regions where the relocation was more straightforward and cheaper the possibility of processes of a larger scope might be preserved, although the lack of evidence means this cannot be reliably established. Even though these displacements would not have necessarily entailed sea journeys, the deportations would have to overcome great distances and geographical obstacles, like the Zagros Mountains or the Great Salt Desert, among others.

origin and the receiving zone would serve to deepen the relation of dependence between centre and periphery, by strengthening the former to the detriment of the latter. The disappearance of a large productive segment meant a shortage in specialised labour or prepared products in the place of origin, which could probably only be rectified through foreign contributions. In the Egyptian case, the process that affected the artisans must be separated from that of the also attested relocation of the pharaoh (see below). Furthermore, it is complicated to establish whether, after the relocation, the specialists would be considered *kurtaš* or what socio-political position they would hold. In fact, if we did not have Ctesias' account on the Egyptian craftsmen, we would be unaware of the existence of this practice besides the information of the ambiguous *kurtaš*.

### Punitive deportations

There was an additional punitive nature inherent in the revolts that was absent to a large extent from the conquests. This determined the main differences observed between the following two types of deportations. The importance of the conditions of the defeat is illustrated by the acts of Artaxerxes III in Sidon. Despite having managed to agree to the conditions of the surrender of King Tenes, the Persian monarch withdrew and decided not to accept the surrender in order to be able to inflict exemplary punishment on the Phoenician city (D.S. XVI. 45.1–6)<sup>20</sup>.

Sidon and Ionia form the group of those deportations labelled as 'punitive deportations' (Mendoza 2018: 21–23). Their main objective was to dismantle the previous relations of power and to establish new ones, to ensure effective control of an unruly region. This was the same goal as the third typology of deportation as well, but the main differences are the preliminary circumstances and the methods employed. The former is clearly represented in the

<sup>20</sup> It is not clear if Artaxerxes III's deportation of some Jews to Babylon and/or Hyrcania (J. Ap. I. 194; Hieron. *Chron.* 1658; Solin. 35.4; Eus. *Chron.* II. 112–113; Oros. *Hist.* III. 7.6–7; Georg. Sync. I. 486.16 D) was related or not with this uprising; cf. Barag 1966; Parker 1978. See also Otto 2009.

aforementioned examples: rebellion and assault – not surrender, accepted at least. In those circumstances, the replacement occurred in a much more expeditious way, with the generalised execution of the members of the local elite who were hostile towards the conquest (Mendoza 2016: 83-86). This is clearly stated in the Behistun inscription, where we can read that every single usurper was put to death<sup>21</sup>. Therefore, a subsequent movement of the population would not affect the upper classes but would focus on the lower social strata. In Ionia and Sidon, it is clearly stated that the deportees were young maidens. The relocation of young people, who would probably become slaves or concubines, would not have an immediate economic impact on the zones of origin. Nor would they generate an important effect on the political relations with the Persian dominator, beyond their role as hostages. But in the medium and long term, their relocation could entail a threat on a demographic level since, combined with massacres and/or castrations like in Ionia, the future of the community was endangered. For their city, this would involve the need to incorporate external elements. In the sources, there are mentions of potential repopulations and the granting of lands to neighbouring towns previously belonging to defeated populations<sup>22</sup>. The incorporation of new elements would entail a reconfiguration of the relations both on an internal and regional level, although it would be a process that would require more time to take shape. In these instances, therefore, the will to apply an exemplifying punishment to the rebels is combined with medium and long-term social and political effects, which would translate into the weakening of the city in relation to the Persian power and also on a regional level.

<sup>21</sup> Âššina of Susiana (DB 17), Nidintu-Bêl of Babylon (DB 20), Martiya of Elam (DB 23), Phraortes of Media (DB 32), Tritantaechnes of Sagartia (DB 33), Vahyazdâta of Persia and his followers (DB 43), Arachosian rebels (DB 47), Arakha of Babylon and his followers (DB 50), Atamaita of Elam (DB 71) and the Scythian leaders (DB 74).

<sup>22</sup> Miletus' land was granted to Persians and Carians from Pedasa (Hdt. VI. 20). See also the examples of Samos, Babylon and Olynthus (Hdt. III. 149, 159.2; VIII. 127), whose lands were also redistributed to neighbouring communities.

## Political deportations

The third group are those labelled as ‘political deportations’ (Mendoza 2018: 15–21). While it is important not to underestimate the economic effect of these deportations, their use was essentially for political purposes. The above-mentioned strengthening of the relation of dependence between the centre and the periphery can also be seen from this perspective. In this category is where there are more known cases and further details about their applications. These deportations are usually found after the conquest of new territories that they were not finally taken by assault, although it could have existed initial resistance in some cases. In the great majority of the known instances, the sources explicit the presence of local pro-Persian individuals or factions within the community that had ‘summoned’ them or negotiate the rendition – many times secretly<sup>23</sup>. These people were excellent options when establishing a new government afterwards. The installation of local factions was preferred to the arrival of a foreign governor. By establishing autochthonous factions, in a certain way, the Persians managed to reduce the subjugated population’s rejection of the new ruler, in addition to having in the power people who owed their new position to the conquerors<sup>24</sup>. In consequence, the former leaders had to be removed to install these new regional/local rulers. In these instances, however, they could not be simply executed as in the former type. Therefore, the main objective of the deportations was the elite of the conquered country. The factor of ‘quality’ had to be prioritised over ‘quantity’. Conscientiously relocating the local elite managed to defuse potential charismatic figures who could organise a revolt around them. In the large majority of cases,

<sup>23</sup> Pheretima in Barca, two brothers in Paeonia, Euphorbus and Philagrus in Eretria. The former Ionian tyrants would have also played this role (Hdt. IV. 133, 136–137). On the cases of Miletus and the Branchidae, see Mendoza 2016: 90–91 n. 109, 113–115.

<sup>24</sup> It is also very likely that in the event of the conquest of Athens, Hippias would have played this role (Hdt. V. 96; VI. 102, 107–109, 121). The installation of local governors is also attested even in some cases of rebellion. See Table 1 and Mendoza 2016: 84, fig. 1. Cf. Sinopoli 1994: 164.

the scope was so limited that it is even difficult to be considered a proper deportation.

As remarked, the former ruling class was the main component of the deported group. Obviously, its actual composition depended on the previous political system. In consequence, in unipersonal power systems, we found the relocation of the former ruler and his family, as clearly shown by the examples of Astyages of Media, Nabonidus of Babylon, Croesus of Lydia, the pharaoh Psammetichus III, Histiaeus of Miletus or Evagoras and Pnytagoras of Salamis<sup>25</sup>. If possible, it was better just moving them and not having them executed<sup>26</sup>. A dead king could become a martyr and also his death might leave room for the emergence of 'successors' that could gather around them an uprising against the Persian power. In a certain way, that is what happened after Darius I's accession to the throne, when many of the rebel leaders claimed to be from local royal stock<sup>27</sup>. Those former overlords were first moved to the court, where they had a well-off position and they eventually received official appointments, either as king's advisors or on foreign satrapies<sup>28</sup>. This situation generated a relation of gratitude and dependence with the Achaemenid crown, which meant that, in the event of those newly in power in their homeland turning against the empire, these could be replaced and the former occupants could have been reinstalled after the necessary 'reprogramming' (cf. Hdt. III.15). In consequence, they were also useful to put pressure on the

<sup>25</sup> See Table 2 for full references and details. Besides, Metiocus, Miltiades' son (Hdt. VI. 41.2-4), and the unnamed son of the pharaoh Nectanebo (Gorre 2013: 102) acted for their respective fathers.

<sup>26</sup> This policy was not new or exclusive of the Persian Empire. For example, it was a known policy of the Neo-Babylonian Empire (see Zadok, 1979: 167, 171; Mendoza 2018: 17-18) and it is found in other empires all over the world (see Sinopoli 1994: 170).

<sup>27</sup> In Behistun, some of the monarchs who rose against Darius brandished their association with the local bygone dynasties (DB 52). In Babylon, Nidintu-Bel proclaimed to be Nebuchadnezzar, son of Nabonidus (DB 16). This is the same identity that was subsequently put forward by Arakha (DB 49). In Media, Phraortes said he was Kashtariti, from the family of Cyaxares (DB 24). The affiliation with Cyaxares was also claimed by the Sagartian Tritantaechmes (DB 33). In Persia, Vahyazdâta appeared as Smerdis, son of Cyrus (DB 40).

<sup>28</sup> See the details of each case in Table 2.

newly installed governors. The use of these figures as mediators in their lands of origin in subsequent conflicts and some reinstatements are certified, demonstrating the usefulness of this policy and the reality of their expected reconversion<sup>29</sup>. Certainly, the promises of return, the closeness to the Great King and the comfortable position in exile facilitated these former rulers' compliance with the new situation.

In the previous cases, it is difficult to talk about deportation, considering the limited scope of the relocations. However, these surgical and extremely restricted removals were not always possible. The Achaemenid Empire found non-unipersonal forms of government in the Hellenic world. Here, if relocation was decided upon, it had to necessarily involve a greater number of people, although always within the previously established practical limits. In this case, the relocations affected the most preeminent families (including women and children) of the faction against the subjugation. The so-called 'netting' of the territory, a recurring Greek motive in the sources<sup>30</sup>, actually was not a measure to capture every single runaway to enslave them but to find very determined and significant fugitives (cf. Gaca 2010: 119). It was not practical – nor economical – and, as we have already seen, it was not their objective. The image of a huge line of Persian soldiers hand in hand marching throughout an island or a territory cannot stand up. The 'list of targets' would have been provided by those local collaborators, the main beneficiaries for the new situation.

If we take a look at the stages of the procedure (or 'ritual') involved in the deportations we can see the correspondence between these two variants – 'individual' and group deportation. The first

<sup>29</sup> Histiaeus of Miletus was sent to suppress the Ionian Revolt (Hdt. V. 106-107). The Ionian tyrants were also employed as mediators right before the battle of Lade (Hdt. VI. 9.2-10.1). As I argued elsewhere (Mendoza 2016: 113-115), it is not unlikely that the Branchidae also played this role. On the usefulness of having an ace up the sleeve, see the alternation in power in Salamis between Pnytagoras and Evagoras (D.S. XVI. 42.7-9, 46. 1-3).

<sup>30</sup> Samos: Hdt. III. 149. Chios, Tenedos and Lesbos: Hdt. VI. 31. Naxos (?): Hdt. VI. 96. Eretria: Pl. *Leg.* 698c-d, *Menex.* 240a-b; Str. X. 1.10; D.L. III. 33; Philostr. VA. 1.23; Arist. XXVI. 85. The 'netting' of Eretria became proverbial: Arist. I. 119. The verb employed is σαγηνεύω, originally meaning "surround and take fish with a drag-net" (*LSJ* s.v. σαγηνεύω). See Mendoza 2016: 97-98.

step was an order from the Great King to authorise the deportation (Hdt. V. 14, VI. 94; Pl. *Leg.* 698 c-d, *Menex.* 240 a-b). Therefore, the fate of the defeated was not left to the officials or soldiers' whim<sup>31</sup>, but everything was under royal commandment. Once defeated and captured, the deportees were sent to the King's presence. There the Persian ruler publicly decided their fate, but against the typical Greek image, they were not enslaved. The Great King forgave them. Here we find a correspondence between the terminology used by Herodotus (VI. 20, 41.4, 119.2) and Ctesias (*Pers.* F13.10) both from individual and group deportations: *κακὸν οὐδὲν* – no harm. They received no punishment, but gifts. The king granted them with lands – probably from the royal estates (explicitly in Hdt. VI. 119.2) – where they could settle and form a new and autonomous community (Briant 2002: 415-421; Mendoza 2016: 107-110). The relocation of the whole family helped to guarantee their continuity in the future, as well as serving as a means of relieving a greater feeling of being uprooted. This also helped to eliminate hopes of fleeing, which were already quite reduced considering the enormous distances or the geographical obstacles to overcome<sup>32</sup>. Therefore, there was no necessity of imposing direct military control over them. The granting of lands is one of the elements that help to clearly establish a distinction between this type of deportations and the previous ones. Precisely, the Greeks from Persepolis asked Alexander for lands where they could settle after their liberation, showing a clear difference in the objectives of their deportation, as well as in their status and living conditions (Curt. V. 5.21-24; D.S. XVII. 69.5-8).

The granting of lands was a clear demonstration of the magnanimity and the generosity of their new overlord. This was a good starting point for establishing a new relation of dependence that

<sup>31</sup> The inexistence of explicit orders could lead to unwanted executions, as the case of Histiaeus proves (Hdt. VI. 30). However, the existence of actual commands did not prevent from some eventual violation of them by the officials, like Otanes' massacre in Samos contravening Darius' orders (Hdt. III. 140.5-141, 147).

<sup>32</sup> Just think about in the distance between Barca and Bactria, in nowadays Libya and Afghanistan, respectively. Even though the Paeonians were settled 'near' home, in Phrygia, they were not able to cross back to Europe without boats. It was not until Aristagoras devised his plan for taking them to their homeland that they could return, via Chios and Lesbos (Hdt. VI. 98).

could be very useful, as we will see. Although far away from their homeland, they could live united and autonomously, maintaining their way of life. Certainly, this lifestyle evolved during the years – especially their language –, but they and their descendants kept their previous identity as Greeks. A different matter is whether the other Greeks still regarded them as such or not. It would basically depend on their prejudices against them. The Branchidae were sacrilegious traitors, so their barbarisation generated repulsion (Curt. VII. 5.29)<sup>33</sup>. The Eretrians and the Boeotians from Celones<sup>34</sup> were innocent victims, so their maintenance of the Greek customs – even in an odd way – was to be praised (Philostr. VA. I. 23-24).

Therefore, the so-called ‘enslavement’ and loss of freedom did not really happen – just metaphorically at the most (cf. Hdt. V. 116.1, VI. 44; Van der Speck 2014: 258). So, there is another Greek myth falling here. If we observe closely the Greek terminology, maybe we have a possible glimpse of this differentiation between actual and metaphoric slaves. Herodotus uses the verb ἀνδραποδίζω in the accounts of the Barcaeans, the Milesians and

<sup>33</sup> The Gortuae were thought to be of Euboean race and it seems they followed more or less voluntarily the Persians from their homeland. In Alexander’s times, they had lost their ancestral traditions and were regarded as degenerates: Curt. IV. 12.11. Perhaps they might be identified with those Eretrians who collaborated with the Persians. After the Persian defeat and retreat, they would have asked for protection to their allies. They would have been relocated somewhere in the Persian Empire, paradoxically as those who had earlier delivered to the Persian authorities. Strabo (XVI. 1.25) placed the deported Eretrians in Gordyene. The similarities between the words Gortua and Gordyene are obvious. Gordyene was far north-west from Susiana, where the Eretrian deportees were relocated. Curtius’ description of Darius III’s army is not helpful. The Gortuae are listed between the Cosseans, and the Phrygians and the Cataonians, being both neighbours of the two possible places of settlement of the Eretrians/Euboeans. Strabo uses the verb ἀναρπάζω, that means ‘snatch up’, ‘snatch away’, ‘carry off’, ‘steal’, ‘ravage’, ‘take by storm’, but also ‘to rescue’ (*LSJ* s.v. ἀναρπάζω). Cf. Grosso 1958: 369-375.

<sup>34</sup> Welles (1963: 443 n. 2) identified them with the Eretrians, but there is no good reason for such identification. Diodorus’ text (XVII. 110.4-5; see also XIX. 19.2) clearly located Celones further north than Ardericca, agreeing with other Classical authors: Plb. V. 54.7; Str. XVI. 1.1; Plin. *HN*. VI. 122, 131. Alexander’s following stages (Behistun and Ecbatana) clearly suggest a more northern location. They could be the descendants of the Thebans captured by Xerxes: Hdt. VII. 233, 2. See Goukowsky 1976: 268-269; Mendoza 2016: 73.



the Eretrians, and it is usually translated as ‘to enslave’<sup>35</sup>. Herodotus employed different terms to describe these deportees. The word ἀνδράποδα is applied to Milesians and Eretrians and in the majority of other instances in his book is used rather meaning prisoner than slave (cf. Ducrey 1967: 23-26). He also employed αἰχμάλωτος for Paeonians and Eretrians and it means captured (cf. Ducrey 1967: 16-20<sup>36</sup>). With a similar meaning, we found ζωγρέω, used to describe the Milesians, only with the nuance of being captured alive (cf. Ducrey 1967: 29-31). On the contrary, for the Ionians, he employed the verb καταδουλόω, which elsewhere in Herodotus means undoubtedly “to enslave”. Therefore, we have a subtle differentiation in the vocabulary distinguishing between ‘captured’ and ‘enslaved’. In consequence, perhaps the verb ἀνδραποδίζω should not be translated as ‘to enslave’ in these cases, but as ‘to lose freedom’ (Mendoza 2016: 86-88; cf. Gaca 2010, especially 145-147). So, it is possible that Herodotus still was aware of the distinction, completely elided by the following writers.

The places where deportees were settled also felt the impact of their installation. The areas we know people were relocated are Bactria-Sogdiana, Persian Gulf, Susiana/Elam, Babylon, Phrygia and Hyrcania. Their location was not arbitrary. Certainly, the prime criterion was that it was difficult or far enough to discourage the hopes of returning home (see note 32). The concession of imperial estates generated an economic profit by providing an opportunity for unproductive lands (cf. Oded 1979: 67-74). Therefore, the availability of these would be an essential factor to establish their destination. A certain clue of settling can be perceived in areas where recent rebellions had taken place or areas that could be prone to rebellions, as well as those that were located on the edges of the imperial domain (Mendoza, 2016: 122-128). Revolts were harshly repressed, which generated a surplus of lands that could be expro-

<sup>35</sup> For the references in Herodotus’ work of all the next analysed words, see their respective entries in Powell 1938.

<sup>36</sup> The etymology of this word is very telling, deriving from αἰχμή, ‘spear’. Therefore, it refers to someone taken by the spear i.e. a prisoner of war.

priated by the state. Besides, the great majority were very prosperous regions, what we can call lands of opportunities<sup>37</sup>. There the deportees would not have only exploited the granted lands, but they possibly might have carried out other activities as well. For example, the displacement of the Milesians to Ampe, in the Persian Gulf, suggests that this location was not arbitrary and maybe it was chosen to take advantage of their well-known abilities as tradesmen and mariners (Scott 2005: 121-122). In turn, they helped to regenerate the economic activity of these regions.

In addition to the purely economic impact, there would also be a possible political yield behind their installation. They were 'strangers in strange land' surrounded by alien people, who also regarded them as intruders (cf. Oded 1979: 46-48). These new settlers, feeling isolated, would cling to the figure of the king – who had already shown his magnanimity – as a saviour and as the only guarantee of their possessions in this land. Philostratus (VA. I. 24) even describes some altars erected by the Eretrians to honour certain Persian kings. In this way, the newcomers could become potential informers of any suspicious movement by the locals. This aspect would be particularly relevant in border or volatile areas, the kind of places where we have already seen that the deportees were settled. Placing the deportees on these lands would help to stabilise the region, by introducing external elements. Therefore, their role would not only be that of potential informers of any abnormal activity<sup>38</sup>, but they would also serve as a dissuasive element for possible uprisings – or replicas of previous rebellions. As we have seen, the lands tended to be divided among the nearby towns that had remained faithful, but the possibility of having new settlers from more distant places made this option preferential. The introduction of these external elements not only reshaped the regional relations but disrupted the local dynamics too.

<sup>37</sup> In this aspect, I have to remark Marco Ferrario's comparison between the displacement to Bactria of the Barceans and those deported to Siberia by the Tsars in his paper during the conference *Seen from Oxyartes' Rock: Central Asia under and after Alexander. Third Meeting of the Hellenistic Central Asia Research Network*, held in Prague in November 2018.

<sup>38</sup> The Greek authors wrote about the King's 'eyes' and 'ears'. However, the sources did not agree if they were a body of royal agents or if every single subject would play this role. Cf. Hdt. I. 114.2; Aesch. *Pers.* 980; X. *Cyr.* VIII. 2.10-12.

## Conclusions

After examining the pieces of evidence, we can safely conclude that the Greek perception of Achaemenid deportations was deeply distorted. The most reliable author is Herodotus. Even though sometimes makes careless or sensational statements, when analysing critically the data, one can find trustful and interesting information. If we collate the details about the Achaemenid system, it is possible to trace some parallelisms with the preceding Neo-Assyrian and Neo-Babylonian empires – especially with the latter (Mendoza 2018). Herodotus seems to rely often on local information, as the cases of the Barceans or the Paeonians clearly suggest. After him, the narratives worsened and all we can find are a series of commonplaces and exaggerations: mass deportations, the netting, complete enslavement, oriental despotism and so on. As stated, the deportations were applied in different ways according to the necessities and the circumstances of every case having in mind different goals. Also, the target segment of population differed in every described typology. The displacement of specialized workers after a conflict would rather respond to the chance and need than to its systematic practice, and as such, there is less evidence of the relocations of artisans than other segments of the population. This type of relocations generated complementary effects, such as the strengthening of the relation between the centre and the periphery.

Even though the economic effects cannot be undervalued and can be deduced elsewhere, the political ones seem to imply more significant impacts. As it has been stressed, the preliminary conditions were crucial for deciding the outcome afterwards. In the cases of rebellion and/or assault, the ruling classes were executed and, in consequence, the deportations were focused on the surviving lower classes. The combination of various methods of repression had an important effect on the affected community, generating deep internal problems, which entailed significant changes in regional relations, where their position was diminished compared to their more loyal neighbours.

On the other hand, in those cases described as ‘political deportations’, the deportees were probably from the local elite and were

a necessary adaptation of the system applied to unipersonal political systems. The will to perform a surgical action is perceived, limiting the scope and generating a state of affairs that can even be considered to be a win-win situation. The deportees became a valuable and potentially instrumental resource both in their place of origin and their destination. The procedure or 'ritual' involved in these deportations emphasized the importance of establishing a firm relation of gratitude, dependence and loyalty between the Great King and the deportees. They could continue living autonomously in lands bestowed by the sovereign. Therefore, in these instances, the deportation cannot be simply regarded as a punishment, but it should be interpreted within the framework of the relation between the overlord and his new subjects. In consequence, it was not a motive exploited by Persian propaganda as a noteworthy military achievement.

In their multiple forms, the Achaemenid deportations were an efficient and versatile method to stabilize and strengthen the control of its imperial possessions, especially those that recently have fallen in their hands, and not just another mean whim of the Great King, as the Greeks were eager to believe. Obviously, a winner's account is always very biased, but also a loser's one.

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Table 1: Achaemenid deportations in Classical sources

Case	Type	Chronology	Context	Deported population	Number of deportees	Destination	Government afterwards	Further measures and data	Sources
Egypt	Economic	525 (Cambyses)	Conquest	Artisans	6,000* (possibly 600 cf. PF 1557)	Susa	—	See <i>Psammetichus III</i>	Ctes. <i>Pers.</i> F13.10; D.S. I. 46.4 (cf. PF 1557)
Greeks	Economic	Different kings	Unknown	Workers	800 (D.S.) / 4,000 (Curt.)	Persepolis	—	Mutilated and branded; Alexander granted them lands.	Curt. V. 5.5-6; 9; D.S. XVII. 69.2-4; 6-8
Ionia and islands	Punitive	494 (Darius I)	Rebellion and no surrender (unsuccessful negotiation)	Maidens	—	Royal court	Reinstallation of the formerly deposed local tyrants (one year later: democracy)	Cities burned. Boys emasculated. Netting in Lesbos, Chios and Tenedos.	Hdt. VI. 32 (cf. VI. 9.2-10)
Sidon	Punitive	345 (Artaxerxes III)	Rebellion and surrender not accepted. Mercenary betrayal.	Maidens	—	Babylon and Susa	Firstly, the Cypriot Evagoras. Later, Straton, a pro-Persian local.	Annihilation of Tenes and the local aristocracy. City burned. Citizens died by fire.	D.S. XVI. 43.1-45; 6; Oros. <i>Hist.</i> III. 7.8; Georg. <i>Sync.</i> I. 486.16 D; <i>ABC</i> 9
Barca	Political	ca. 515 (Darius I)	Not assault (cheat and local supporters)	Non-trustworthy survivors	—	Bactria	Phertime (pro-Persian local)	Execution of the main opponents. Mutilation of their women.	Hdt. IV. 164. 4-167. 3; 202-204



Case	Type	Chronology	Context	Deported population	Number of deportees	Destination	Government afterwards	Further measures and data	Sources
Paeonians	Political	513 (Darius I)	Surrender after being fooled by the Persians, who took unprotected cities.	Some tribes; others remained	—	Phrygia	Two Paeonian brothers	Return to their homeland	Hdt. V. 12-17.1; 23.1; 98
Miletus	Political	494 (Darius I)	Assault (possible last-minute accorded rendition?)	Survivors	—	Ampe, Persian Gulf	Democratic or oligarchic government? (Hecataeus as ambassador)	Men massacred. Women and children enslaved, Looting and burning of Didyma. Lands conceded to Carians.	Hdt. VI. 19.3-20
Eretria	Political	490 (Darius I)	Not assault (local traitors)	Men, elders, women and children	780 (Philostratus)	Ardericca, Cissia	Local traitors? (too short time under Persian control)	City burned. ‘Neting’.	Hdt. VI. 94. 2; 101.3; 107.2; 119; Pl. Leg. 698 c-d. <i>Menex.</i> 240 a-b; Str. X. 1.10; AP. VII. 256, 259; Philostr. <i>V4.</i> 23-24.
Branchidae	Political	480 (Xerxes I) (Previously Darius I in 494? See below)	Treason	Branchidae family	—	Sogdiana	Looting and burning. End of the activity of the oracle until Alexander.	Descendants massacred by Alexander.	See below.

Case	Type	Chronology	Context	Deported population	Number of deportees	Destination	Government afterwards	Further measures and data	Sources
Boeotians	Unknown	480 (Xerxes I)	Captured/ Treason (Battle of the Thermopylae)	Men	400?	Celones, Babylonia?	—	Branded. Descendants found by Alexander?	Hdt. VII. 233.2; D.S. XVII. 110.4
Jews	Unknown	350-345 (Artaxerxes III)	Unknown	—	Thousands to Babylon (Hecataeus <i>apud</i> Josephus; confusion with the Babylonian deportation?)	Hyrcania and Babylon	Local?	Related with the Phoenician uprising? Destruction of Jericho?	J. Ap. I. 194; Hieron. Chron. 1638; Solin. 35.4; Eus. Chron. II. 112-113; Oros. Hist. III. 7.6-7; Geogr. Sync. I. 486.16 D
Carlians	Hypothetical	Unknown	Unknown	—	—	Area of Babylon and Susa. Bactria?	—	Regiment in Darius III's army. Own villages.	Arr. An. III. 8.5, 11.5; D.S. XVII. 110.4; Str. XI. 11.4.
Samos	Hypothetical	522 (Darius I)	Rebellion	—	—	Unknown	Syloson (local pro-Persian)	Massacre of men, women and children. 'Netting'. Repopulation.	Hdt. III. 140.5-147
Byzantium									
Chalcedon									
Antandrus									
Lamponius									
Imbros									
Naxos	Hypothetical	491 (Darius I)	Flight (but successful resistance in 500)	—	—	—	Local?	Temples burned. 'Netting'?	Hdt. VI. 96; VIII. 46.3.

Table 2: Displacement of rulers

Case	Chronology	Context	Appointment	Government afterwards	Restitution?	Further measures and data	Sources
<b>Asyages of Media</b>	550/49 (Cyrus II)	Defeated and captured in battle (or surrendered by his own army).	Cyrus' court (Hdt.) / Commander of the Bactrians (Ctes.) / Governor of Hyrcania (Iust.) / Retirement in Babylon (Xen.)	Persian governor?	No	Looting of Ecbatana's riches.	Hdt. I. 128-130.3; Ctes. Pers. F9a; Iust. I. 6.16; X. Cyr. VIII. 5.17; ABC 7, II. 1-4.
<b>Croesus of Lydia</b>	546 (Cyrus II)	Assault	Cyrus and Cambyse's advisor	Mixed? Pactyas (Lydian) / Tabalus (Persian) Short duration: Pactyas' rebellion.	No	Looting of Sardis.	Hdt. I. 84-91, 153.3-156, 207-208; III. 14.11, 34.4-5, 36.
<b>Nabonidus of Babylon</b>	539 (Cyrus II)	Surrender in Borsippa before any siege (Berossus) / Arrested in Babylon (ABC)	Residence in Carmania.	Nabû-ahhê-bullit (Local governor). From 535: Gubāru (Persian governor)	No	Nidintu-Bel and Arakha claimed to be their sons during the rebellions prompted by Darius I's accession.	Berossus (FGH Hist 680), F9a: J. 4p. I. 20-21; Eus. PE. IX. 41; ABC 7, III. 12-17.
<b>Psammeticus III</b>	525 (Cambyse)	Surrender after a siege.	Cambyse's court.	Planned reinstatement of the pharaoh. Aborted by his participation in a plot.	Planned. Maybe included in the surrender terms.	Alleged humiliation by Cambyse. Execution of 2,000 noblemen (including his son).	Ctes. Pers. F13.10; Hdt. III. 14-15.
<b>Histiaeus of Miletus</b>	ca. 513 (Darius I)	Darius' ally during his Scythian expedition.	Darius' advisor in Susa.	Aristagoras (Histiaeus' cousin and brother-in-law)	Sent to suppress the Ionian Revolt – secretly instigated by him.	After the revolt, captured and executed by Artaphernes. Hdt. & Histiaeus thought that Darius would not have executed him.	Hdt. V. 24-25.1, 106-107; VI. 26-30.

Case	Chronology	Context	Appointment	Government afterwards	Restitution?	Further measures and data	Sources
Branchidae?	494 (Darius I)	Captured?	--	—	Possible planned restitution or use as mediators by Xerxes I during the Second Persian War.	Sent to Sogdiana (see above)	Hdt. VI. 19.3; Curt. VII. 5.28-35; Str. XI. 11.4, XIV. 1.5; XVII. 1.43; Plut. <i>Mor.</i> 557b; Paus. I. 16.3; <i>Siada</i> s.v. Βραγχιδαι
Metiochus (Miltiades' son)	493 (Darius I)	Captured by the Phoenicians and delivered to the king.	Bestowed with royal lands and a Persian wife.	—	--	--	Hdt. VI. 41.2-4
Evagoras II of Salamis	349 (Artaxerxes III)	Evagoras had been expelled due to his pro-Persian affinities. Commander of the troops sent to suppress the Cypriot uprising.	Possible brief recovering of Salamis' kingship or maybe just a promise. Later, he was appointed for a certain higher post in Asia - Sidon.	Local. Evagoras and Phrytagoras.	Possible.	Misgovernment in Sidon. He fled to Cyprus, where he was captured — by Phrytagoras? - and punished.	D.S. XVI. 42.7-9, 46, 1-3.
Phrytagoras of Salamis	349 (Artaxerxes III)	Resisted the Persian (Evagoras') siege	Possible temporary loss of Salamis' kingship. Later, he won Artaxerxes' favour and was reinstated as king.	Local. Evagoras and Phrytagoras.	Yes.	He kept his loyalty towards the Persian king until the aftermath of the battle of Issus.	D.S. XVI. 42.7-9, 46, 1-3.

# Inscriptions en champlevé de Taymā'

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**Abstract.** *A small series of eight Aramaeo-Nabataean inscriptions from Tayma are carved in high relief; they span from the Persian period to the late Nabataean period. They exhibit three different styles of “champlevé”, and the last six inscriptions have interlinear strips of various thickness. It is suggested that from the time of Nabonidus to the Roman period, foreign influences brought three main different techniques; these dedications were meant to be prestigious and thus imitated the bronze inscriptions.*

## Introduction\*

Une petite série de huit inscriptions araméo-nabatéennes historiées ou aniconiques provenant de l'oasis de Taymā', en Arabie du Nord-Ouest, présentent la particularité d'être sculptées en relief<sup>1</sup> ; c'est l'écriture en champlevé dont on a quelques autres exemples au Moyen-Orient, essentiellement à Zincirli en Syrie du Nord, mais aussi à Dadan/al-'Ulā et en Arabie du Sud. Par ailleurs, six de ces huit inscriptions présentent aussi des traits de séparation en relief entre les lignes. L'ensemble couvre une longue période, probablement du début du v<sup>e</sup> siècle avant l'ère chrétienne jusqu'au début

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<sup>1</sup> P. Stein, 2013, p. 34, donne le chiffre de 64 inscriptions araméennes actuellement trouvées à Taymā', dont une trentaine publiées, et il en présente deux nouvelles, fig. 3 et 4 ; A. Lemaire, en 1995, a donné une liste des inscriptions araméennes de Taymā', p. 64 ; de nouvelles inscriptions ont été publiées par S. Al-Theeb, 1993, p. 30-67 ; j'ai publié deux stèles funéraires inscrites : M.-J. Roche, 2013, 2014.

du III<sup>e</sup> siècle de notre ère ; cela témoigne donc d'une tradition de gravure bien implantée. Les huit inscriptions de Taymā' en champ-levé ont été publiées dans les ouvrages suivants<sup>2</sup> :

- 4 exemples sont répertoriés dans le *CIS* II ; les numéros 113 (« Stèle du Louvre ») et 115 en araméen, le numéro 336 en araméo-nabatéen et le numéro 337 (perdu) en nabatéen<sup>3</sup> ;
- 1 exemple en araméen est publié dans l'ouvrage de F. Altheim & R. Stiehl de 1968<sup>4</sup> ;
- 1 autre exemple en araméen provient des fouilles du site de Qasr al-Ḥamrā' ; il a été découvert en 1979 par H.I. Abu Duruk<sup>5</sup> et a été republié par G.L. Livingstone *et al.* en 1983 (« Stèle de Ryādh »)<sup>6</sup> ;
- 1 exemple en nabatéen tardif a fait l'objet d'un article par M. Al-Najem et M.C.A. Macdonald en 2009<sup>7</sup> ;
- 1 autre exemple, en araméen d'empire provenant des fouilles germano-saoudiennes a été publié par P. Stein en 2013<sup>8</sup>.

Parmi les études sur les inscriptions de Taymā', la technique du champ-levé n'a été que rarement mentionnée<sup>9</sup>. Cependant dans sa contribution sur les inscriptions de Taymā' en 1995, André Lemaire avait commenté cet aspect, généralement négligé, pour les quatre inscriptions araméennes connues à l'époque – à l'exclusion des documents nabatéens – et il a signalé des parallèles<sup>10</sup> ; il attire l'attention sur le soin apporté à ce type de gravure et donc sur son coût

<sup>2</sup> À partir du deuxième volume du *CIS* de 1889, qui inclut les inscriptions découvertes par Ch. Huber, 1884.

<sup>3</sup> *CIS* II, 113, 115, 336, 337.

<sup>4</sup> F. Altheim & R. Stiehl, 1968, p. 74-77, fig. p. 473.

<sup>5</sup> H.I. Abu-Duruk, 1986, p. 61-66, pl. XLIX.

<sup>6</sup> A. Livingstone *et al.*, 1983, p. 108-109.

<sup>7</sup> M. Al-Najem & M.C.A. Macdonald, 2009.

<sup>8</sup> P. Stein, 2013, fig. 4, p. 37 ; cf. *supra*, n. 1.

<sup>9</sup> Elle est signalée par A. Livingstone comme inusitée en araméen ancien et en araméen d'empire ; il mentionne le parallèle avec des stèles de Zincirli, cf. A. Livingstone, 1983, p. 109.

<sup>10</sup> Cf. A. Lemaire, 1995, p. 67, *CIS* II, 113, 115 ; il signale les parallèles de Zincirli, d'Arabie du Sud (plus tardifs) et aussi un exemple en phénicien, mais qui paraît très isolé (P. Bordreuil, 1977).

élevé ; il remarque d'autre part que ces inscriptions prestigieuses semblent réservées aux temples à Taymā', et il mentionne la présence de ce type d'inscriptions monumentales en champlévé à Zencirli et datant des IX<sup>e</sup> - VIII<sup>e</sup> siècle<sup>11</sup> ; il mentionne également un fragment phénicien de Byblos du X<sup>e</sup> siècle<sup>12</sup>, ainsi que les documents sud-arabiques<sup>13</sup>, auxquels il faut ajouter les inscriptions liḥyanites de l'oasis de Dadan<sup>14</sup>.

Un aspect technique supplémentaire est la présence de barres ou de traits de séparation entre les lignes, un élément rarement signalé ; F. Briquel-Chatonnet propose d'y voir une technique de scribe qui prépare sa page, à propos de la petite stèle araméo-nabatéenne du Louvre<sup>15</sup>. M. Al-Najem et M.C.A. Macdonald commentent aussi les traits interlinéaires<sup>16</sup>.

Ces quelques pistes de recherche sur les parallèles au Proche-Orient et sur le rôle de la technique du champlévé nous amènent à nous intéresser aux origines de son introduction dans l'oasis, à ses parallèles régionaux ou plus lointains, et à son utilisation à Taymā'. La place et le rôle de l'oasis dans le grand commerce transarabique sont donc essentiels pour appréhender les contacts et les emprunts, en particulier pendant et après la période d'occupation de Taymā' par le roi néo-babylonien Nabonide au VI<sup>e</sup> siècle.

<sup>11</sup> M. Lidzbarski, 1898, p. 443-443, n° 3-7, pl. XXIV, fig. 1-5 ; le n° 3 est au musée d'Istanbul, les n° 4-7 sont au Musée de Berlin ; voir aussi les catalogues de musées et d'expositions, en particulier *Abenteuer Orient*, fig. 5, p. 77, fig. 1, p. 80, fig. 3, p. 82.

<sup>12</sup> P. Bordreuil, 1977.

<sup>13</sup> Cf. *Yémen, au pays de la reine de Saba*, 1997.

<sup>14</sup> Cf. A. Jaussen & R. Savignac, 1909, vol. I, nombreux exemples, p. 362-531, vol. II, pl. LXXIX-CXII.

<sup>15</sup> F. Briquel-Chatonnet, 1997, p. 264 : « les lignes sont séparées par des traits, comme les réglures d'un manuscrit ».

<sup>16</sup> M. Al-Najem & M.C.A. Macdonald, 2009, p. 208 et n. 2.

## Taymā', un nœud caravanier

L'oasis de Taymā' en Arabie du nord-ouest<sup>17</sup> est l'un des nœuds du commerce caravanier de l'encens, des aromates et d'autres marchandises de prix entre l'Arabie du Sud et le Croissant Fertile<sup>18</sup>. Taymā' est au centre d'un bassin intérieur de drainage des eaux et bénéficie de nombreux puits, dont le Bīr Ḥaddaj d'un diamètre de presque 20 mètres – le plus grand puits d'Arabie du Nord. L'occupation de l'oasis remonte à la fin du II<sup>e</sup> millénaire selon les sources, et son rôle comme nœud caravanier d'une part, et comme lieu de résidence pendant dix ans du dernier roi néo-babylonien Nabonide au VI<sup>e</sup> siècle d'autre part, est donc essentiel pour appréhender le sujet<sup>19</sup>.

Les sources anciennes sont à la fois épigraphiques – akkadiennes – mais aussi textuelles – l'Ancien Testament. Le nom de Taymā' apparaît pour la première fois dans les sources akkadiennes où il est mentionné dans un texte du VIII<sup>e</sup> siècle qui décrit l'attaque et la capture d'une caravane de deux cents chameaux provenant de l'oasis<sup>20</sup>. Aux sources babyloniennes s'ajoutent les références bibliques. L'oasis de Taymā' est en effet plusieurs fois citée dans l'Ancien Testament, d'une part aux côtés de tribus d'Arabie du Nord, mais aussi comme une importante cité caravanière, sous la forme *tēmā'*, ethnique *tymny*<sup>21</sup> ; elle était avec Dadan – la moderne al-'Ulā – et l'oasis de Adumatū/Dūmat al-Jandal dans le Jawf (la « dépression »), le centre le plus important d'Arabie du Nord.

<sup>17</sup> P.J. Parr, 1997, p. 160-161 ; 27°38' N, 38°30' E.

<sup>18</sup> B. André-Salvini (éd.), 2008 *Babylone*, p. 273-274, fig. 170a-c, p. 248. Cf. A. Livingstone, 1999.

<sup>19</sup> Cf. A. Hausleiter, 2012.

<sup>20</sup> Cf. A.I. Al-Ghabban *et al.*, 2010, p. 220 ; G. Dossin, 1970, p. 21 (I, 1), et commentaire p. 39-40 ; M. Liverani, 1992, p. 111-112 ; *The Anchor Bible Dictionary* 6, 1992, New York *et al.*, p. 346.

<sup>21</sup> Gn 25,15, cite Téma parmi les descendants d'Ismaël ; 1 Ch 1,30, « Téma » est citée parmi les Ismaélites ; Jb 6,19 « les caravanes de Teima les fixent des yeux et eux espèrent les convois de Saba » ; Is 21,13,14, « dans les taillis, dans la steppe, vous passez la nuit, caravanes de Dédanites ; Jr 25,23, « Dédân, Téma, Buz, tous les hommes aux tempes rasées, tous les rois de l'Arabie ... qui habitent le désert » (trad. Bible de Jérusalem).



Par ailleurs, l'oasis apparaît probablement citée dans une source minéenne du I<sup>er</sup> millénaire avant notre ère, la liste des femmes étrangères du site de Ma'in<sup>22</sup> ; en effet, dans l'ethnique d'une femme appelée *Qynt bn Qry*<sup>n</sup>, son clan paraît être celui de Qraya ou Qrayan, que je propose de situer dans la zone centrale des ruines de Taymā'<sup>23</sup> ; le nom de la femme, *Qynt*, est araméen et peut se traduire par « chanteuse »<sup>24</sup>. F. Bron rejoint les conclusions de A. Lemaire, d'après des données comparatistes, sur la date du V<sup>e</sup> siècle donnée à ces listes, postérieures donc de la présence de Nabonide dans l'oasis.

### Nabonide à Taymā' (553-543)

Le dernier roi néo-babylonien Nabonide, *Nabû-nā'id* (556-539)<sup>25</sup> lança dans sa troisième année de règne une campagne dans la région du nord de l'Arabie, en venant du nord-ouest, de la région de Ḥarrān en Syrie du Nord<sup>26</sup>. Il emprunte la « Route des Rois », à l'est du Jourdain et de la mer Morte, et il passe par Édom ; il a laissé à Sela' un relief rupestre très érodé mais néanmoins identifiable comme émanant de lui<sup>27</sup> ; en effet, si l'inscription cunéiforme est trop abîmée pour être lisible, les chercheurs ont pu identifier les trois symboles astraux divins au centre (la lune, l'étoile et le soleil) ainsi que la silhouette du roi Nabonide à gauche<sup>28</sup>.

Après avoir conquis les principales oasis de la région, dont Dadan et Khaybar, jusqu'à Yathrib, Nabonide installe son palais à Taymā' et y reste jusqu'à son retour en Babylonie, en 542, ayant séjourné dix ans, le temps prescrit par le songe oraculaire, le danger perse ne tardant pas à se concrétiser avec l'avancée de Cyrus

<sup>22</sup> F. Bron, 1998, p. 102-121 ; les stèles sur lesquelles ces inscriptions ont été gravées ont disparu, et leur localisation d'origine n'est même pas certaine.

<sup>23</sup> Sur les sources minéennes, cf. *ibid.*, p. 120 ; sur le site d'al-Qurā, cf. *Routes d'Arabie*, p. 226 s.

<sup>24</sup> J. Hoftijzer & K. Jongeling, 1995, p. 1008.

<sup>25</sup> Sur Nabonide, v. en particulier P.-A. Beaulieu, 1989.

<sup>26</sup> Cf. C.J. Gadd, 1958.

<sup>27</sup> F. Zayadine, 1999.

<sup>28</sup> S. Dalley & A. Goguel, 1997.

I<sup>er</sup> ; après la chute de Babylone en 539, Nabonide est probablement déporté en Carmanie, dans l'est de l'Iran<sup>29</sup>.

Les causes de ce séjour dans une capitale méridionale sont complexes : on a mis en avant les l'aspect politico-religieux, avec l'opposition du clergé de Marduk face à la dévotion de Nabonide pour le dieu Lune Sîn ; les raisons sont aussi économiques car le roi babylonien n'avait que le sud pour étendre son royaume, bloqué à l'est par l'avancée perse ; les rois assyriens avaient déjà emprunté la route du sud mais s'étaient surtout concentrés sur Adumatū. En se basant à Taymā', Nabonide pouvait donc contrôler au plus près le commerce de la route de l'encens entre l'Arabie du Sud et le Proche-Orient, en particulier en Syrie du Nord, avec le grand centre du culte du dieu Sîn à Ḥarrān. M.C.A. Macdonald a ainsi présenté la synthèse des différentes routes du trafic caravanier dans la péninsule arabique<sup>30</sup> : un premier nœud routier part du nord de Najrān, avec deux routes vers l'est et le Golfe ; un deuxième nœud routier part en direction du nord à partir de Yathrib, et une route occidentale remonte vers Gaza *via* Dadan, Tabūk, Pétra ; une autre route rejoint Damas et le nord de la Syrie ; deux branches convergent vers l'Euphrate, celle du nord rejoignant les oasis, en particulier Taymā' et Dūmat ; de celle-ci part la route qui utilise le Wādī Sirḥān en direction de l'oasis d'Azrak ; des routes secondaires rejoignent le nord et la côte phénicienne.

Les fouilles récentes germano-saoudiennes ont mis au jour une stèle cunéiforme, très abîmée (Musée de Taymā', TA 488)<sup>31</sup>, qui mentionne des noms divins babyloniens<sup>32</sup> ; on reconnaît à gauche la silhouette de Nabonide devant les trois symboles divins babyloniens : le disque-croissant lunaire du dieu Sîn, le disque solaire de Shamash et l'étoile de 'Ishtar<sup>33</sup> ; c'est une composition très semblable à celle de la stèle de Séla'. On note que l'écriture cunéiforme gravée est mise en valeur par un emplacement réservé, en léger relief. Le nom de Nabonide est aussi gravé en cunéiforme sur un

<sup>29</sup> J.B. Pritchard, 1955, p. 305-315 ; *Brill's New Pauly* 9, 2006, « Nabonidus », p. 482.

<sup>30</sup> M.C.A. Macdonald, 1997 (carte fig. 1 p. 349).

<sup>31</sup> R. Eichmann, H. Schaudig, A. Hausleiter, 2006.

<sup>32</sup> A. Hausleiter, 2008, p. 187 ; Id. 2012b, p. 319, fig. 12.

<sup>33</sup> *Ib.*, fig. 12-13, p. 174 ; *Routes d'Arabie*, n° 100, p. 252-253.

disque qui servait probablement de support à la stèle ; on y lit : « image/stèle de Nabonide, roi de Babylone, puissant roi... »<sup>34</sup>. On rencontre aussi le nom de Nabonide mentionné dans des graffites nord-arabiques, en écriture taymanite, accompagnés d'un dessin de cavalier, témoignant des répercussions de l'occupation néo-babylonienne dans la région<sup>35</sup>.

### L'époque perse et hellénistique

À la fin du IV<sup>e</sup> siècle avant l'ère chrétienne, à la chute de l'empire perse, l'oasis se retrouve dans l'aire d'influence des dynastes dadanites, de l'oasis d'al-'Ulā. La transition avec l'époque nabatéenne est difficile à établir dans la région ; le dernier roi de Dadan a écrit à deux reprises son nom en araméen, *mš'wdw*, Maš'ūdū, dans un défilé, marquant ainsi la limite nord de Dadan face à Hégra<sup>36</sup>. Mais dès le début du I<sup>er</sup> siècle de notre ère les témoignages épigraphiques montrent que les Nabatéens étendent leur influence jusqu'à Taymā' et au-delà jusqu'à Adumatū<sup>37</sup> ; on note que deux tombes de Hégra appartiennent à des Taymanites<sup>38</sup>. En revanche, on n'a pas retrouvé jusqu'à présent à Taymā' de témoignages d'une occupation romaine, mais au contraire d'une relative autonomie de l'oasis (*infra*).

### Typologie des inscriptions en champlevé à Taymā'

Les huit inscriptions en champlevé de Taymā', actuellement publiées, s'échelonnent entre le V<sup>e</sup> siècle avant notre ère et le début du III<sup>e</sup> siècle de notre ère. Ce qui est remarquable c'est que cette technique en champlevé présente des variétés de style entre les

<sup>34</sup> Ib, n° 101, p. 253

<sup>35</sup> H. Hayajneh, 2001, p. 89, inscription 6, fig. 4a, b ; Nabonide roi de Babylone est cité sous la forme : *nbnd mlk bbl*.

<sup>36</sup> J. Cantineau, 1932, p. 153, J334, J 335 : « les deux textes ont un aspect araméen ancien plutôt que nabatéen ».

<sup>37</sup> G. Charloux *et al.*, 2013.

<sup>38</sup> CIS II, 199, 205.

différentes inscriptions, reflétant des origines variées ainsi que des évolutions. Les deux grandes stèles anciennes présentent des parallèles avec celles de Zincirli en Syrie du Nord, alors que celles plus récentes paraissent s'inspirer des inscriptions en champlevé de l'oasis d'al-'Ulā, puis de modèles nabatéens sur bronze.

### Les grandes stèles araméennes

Les deux anciennes stèles araméennes en grès trouvées à Taymā' sont accompagnées de motifs historiés en bas-relief, qui rappellent ceux de la stèle cunéiforme de Nabonide récemment trouvée dans le site (*supra*), et elles n'ont pas de marques de séparation interlinéaires.

#### *Stèle du Louvre, AO 1505*

Cette stèle est la première inscription araméenne découverte à Taymā' par Charles Huber lors de sa mission de 1884, et rapportée par lui au musée du Louvre (AO 1505) ; elle est entrée dans le tome II du *Corpus* des inscriptions araméennes sous le numéro 113, et on en donne en annexe la transcription et la traduction<sup>39</sup>.

La stèle provient du puits antique monumental de l'oasis, 'Ayn Ḥaddaj<sup>40</sup>. Elle est en grès, avec un sommet arrondi, dont les premières lignes sont effacées<sup>41</sup>. Les 22 lignes restantes de la face A sont gravées en champlevé, sans lignes de séparation ; la profondeur des lettres n'est pas indiquée. L'inscription relate l'introduction d'un nouveau culte dans Taymā', celui du dieu Ṣalm de Hagam,

<sup>39</sup> D'après Fr. Briquel-Chatonnet, 1997, p. 261-263 (avec bibliographie) ; cf. également G.A. Cooke, 1903, n° 69, p. 195-199 ; B. Aggoula, 1995, p. 6 & ss. ; des fac-similés se trouvent dans les premières publications : T. Nöldeke 1884, Taf. VI ; Ch. Huber, 1884, fac-similé p. 319.

<sup>40</sup> Il peut s'agir d'un autre puits que Bīr Ḥaddaj, *supra*.

<sup>41</sup> Dimensions : H : 1,11 m ; L. 0.45 m ; ép. 0,12 m. (110/43/12 selon le catalogue *Routes d'Arabie*, n° 102, p. 254.

avec l'accord des dieux locaux, Šangala' et 'Ašima'; le prêtre de Šalm, Šalmšezib est fils de Peṭosiris, un nom d'origine égyptienne<sup>42</sup>.

*Sitzungsber. d. Berl. Akad. d. Wiss. 1881. XXXV.*

*Taf. VI*



*Photogr. Druck des Reichsdruckerei*

**Th. NÖLDEKE:** Altaramäische Inschriften aus Teimā (Arabien).

Fig. 1. Stèle du Louvre AO 1505 (fac-similé Th. Nöldeke, 1884, pl. VI).

<sup>42</sup> Le nom égyptien, « qu'Osiris a donné » peut être rapproché du taymanite, une variante locale de nord-arabique, 'bds<sup>2</sup>r, 'Abdosiris sur un fragment rapporté par Ch. Huber au Louvre, *Arabie heureuse, Arabie déserte*, 1997, n° 202, p. 263, AO 5010.



Fig. 2. Stèle du Louvre AO 1505, détail des lignes 19-22 (ph. M.-J. Roche, 2018).

La transcription et la traduction des lignes 19-21 sont les suivantes :

- 19     *zy mlk' dqln V kl dqln*  
 20     *XXI [h'] šnh bšnh w'lh n w'nš*  
 21     *l' yhn[pq] šlmšzb br pṭsry*

« ...du roi 5 palmiers, total des palmiers 21, année après année, et que les dieux et les hommes n'expulsent pas Šalmšezib fils de Peṭosiris de ce temple ni sa descendance ni son nom... »

La face B (tranche gauche de la stèle) comporte deux registres également en champlevé. Sur celui du haut, un personnage barbu, coiffé d'un bonnet pointu, vêtu d'une longue tunique et tenant un long sceptre est représenté tourné à droite sous un soleil ailé ; sur le registre inférieur un petit personnage se tient debout devant un autel sur lequel est placé une tête de bœuf ; le dessin de cet autel est très semblable à celui représenté sur la face d'un cube historié récemment trouvé à Qasr al-Ḥamrā' à Taymā' ; le nom de Šalmšezib, le prêtre, est inscrit sous le registre inférieur : *šlmšzb / kmr*<sup>43</sup>.

<sup>43</sup> Sur les représentations divines à Taymā', cf. Hausleite 2012b.

Malgré son iconographie de type babylonien, avec le symbole du soleil ailé et la silhouette du roi, cette stèle appartient à la période suivante, le début de l'époque perse ; elle est datée de l'année 22 ou plus, et d'après le style de l'écriture araméenne, elle pourrait appartenir à l'époque de Darius I<sup>er</sup> (522-486) plutôt que d'Artaxerxès I<sup>er</sup> (464-424) ou d'Artaxerxès II (405-359)<sup>44</sup>. Cela donne une date aux environs de 500 av. notre ère qui serait cohérente avec l'introduction d'un nouveau culte à Taymā' au début de la domination perse ; de même l'iconographie du personnage royal représenté sur la face B, qui ressemble à la silhouette du roi Nabonide, connue par d'autres monuments, se comprendrait mieux en tant qu'iconographie royale traditionnelle dans l'oasis<sup>45</sup>.

L'autre grande stèle en araméen a été trouvée il y a quelques décennies dans l'oasis, et elle présente des parallèles étroits avec celle du Louvre.

### ***Stèle d'al-Ḥamrā', Musée national de Riyādh, 1020***

Cette grande inscription votive fragmentaire a une écriture en relief et trois symboles divins sont gravés à la partie supérieure<sup>46</sup>. Elle a été trouvée au Qaṣr d'al-Ḥamrā', salle 1, à Taymā' en 1979 par H.I. Abu-Duruk<sup>47</sup> et a été republiée plusieurs fois ensuite à partir des années quatre-vingts<sup>48</sup>. H.I. Abu Duruk remarque que le disque lunaire est l'élément principal, et note aussi des similitudes iconographiques avec le bloc de Ḥamrā' ; il remarque en particulier la similitude avec le symbole perse de Ahuramazda des VI<sup>e</sup> – V<sup>e</sup> siècles.

L'inscription est en partie incomplète, et la fin est perdue ; au-dessus, trois symboles astraux divins babyloniens sont sculptés également en bas-relief sur trois registres : en haut, un soleil ailé avec à sa gauche un œil *oudjat* gravé ; au milieu, une lune dans un croissant et l'étoile de Vénus à huit branches à sa droite ; dessous,

<sup>44</sup> P. Stein date cette stèle de l'époque d'Artaxerxès II, aux environs de 380 (P. Stein 2013, p. 34).

<sup>45</sup> Cf. la stèle cunéiforme récemment retrouvée à Taymā', R. Eichmann, H. Schaudig & A. Hausleiter, 2006, et le relief de Sela', cf. F. Zayadine, 1999.

<sup>46</sup> Sur ces symboles divins, cf. A. Hausleiter, 2012b.

<sup>47</sup> H.I. Abu Duruk 1986, pl. XLIX ; A. Livingstone *et al.*, 1983, pl. 96.

<sup>48</sup> *Ib.* n° 103, p. 255 ; H.I. Abu Duruk, 1986, pl. XLIX.

un taureau passant à gauche face à un brûle-parfum (restitué) complètent l'iconographie ; à gauche du registre du milieu, les cornes du taureau entourent un disque lunaire.

L'écriture en relief s'apparente tout à fait à celle de la stèle du Louvre, et l'on retrouve le même motif du soleil ailé. L'inscription émane d'un certain *pšgw srhw* en faveur du dieu *Šalm* (*šlm*), le dieu principal de l'oasis (*supra*) ; les deux déesses syriennes sont aussi nommées, *Šangala'* (*šngl'*) et *'Ašima'* (*'šym'*). Le nom du dédicant est accompagné du vocable *šhrw*, ce qui signale qu'il appartient à la famille royale de Liḥyān, de l'oasis de Dadan<sup>49</sup>.

Cette stèle est d'un style très proche de celui de la stèle du Louvre ; les parallèles iconographiques de ces stèles sont à rechercher dans la stèle cunéiforme mentionnée, retrouvée par la mission germano-saoudienne sur le site de l'oasis<sup>50</sup>.

La stèle du Louvre est la plus ancienne, et doit dater probablement du règne de Darius I<sup>er</sup> au tournant du v<sup>e</sup> siècle, à une époque où le contrôle perse s'exerçait encore sur l'oasis. Celle de Riyādh est légèrement plus récente, et doit dater du iv<sup>e</sup> siècle, quand la dynastie liḥyanite avait pris le contrôle de l'oasis de Taymā' vers le milieu de ce siècle<sup>51</sup>.

Les six autres exemples d'inscriptions en champlevé de Taymā' présentent tous la particularité d'avoir des lignes de séparation en relief.

### Les inscriptions araméennes avec lignes en relief

Deux inscriptions fragmentaires provenant des environs de Taymā' sont gravées dans un style lapidaire très géométrique avec des lignes de séparation également en relief ; on les date de la fin du iv<sup>e</sup> au début du iii<sup>e</sup> siècle.

<sup>49</sup> On trouve le vocable *ŠHRW*, réservé aux rois de Liḥyan, dans son nom (*infra*, n. 80).

<sup>50</sup> *Routes d'Arabie*, p. 252-253, n° 100.

<sup>51</sup> La stèle de Ryādh est en l'honneur d'un personnage, probablement le gouverneur, qui est dit fils du roi de Liḥyan (*pšgw šhrw br[m]lky lḥyn*).



**Dalle plate, Le Louvre AO 5074 = AO 27226**

Fig. 3. Dalle plate, Le Louvre AO 5074 = 27226 (ph. M.-J. Roche, 2018).

CIS II, 115 ; grès ; h. 9 ; l. 65 ; ép. 13 cm. Ce fragment en grès d'une seule ligne a été découvert également par Ch. Huber, en réemploi sur le seuil d'une maison de Taymā'<sup>52</sup>. Dimensions : H. 0,90 m ; L. 0,65 m ; ép. 13 cm. La surface est soigneusement polie et le relief des lettres est peu profond ; il y avait peut-être des lignes de séparation si on compare ce fragment aux suivants.

*nṣ' l'n brt šb'n*

« Monument funéraire de 'Alan fille de Šab'an »

L'inscription pourrait être la dernière ligne d'une dédicace et non pas une simple inscription funéraire. La date est incertaine, v<sup>e</sup> selon F. Briquel-Chatonnet, ou bien iv<sup>e</sup> siècle avant notre ère. Son style l'apparente à celui de l'inscription suivante.

**Inscription fragmentaire Stiehl, in situ**

Un autre fragment d'inscription de stèle inscrite a été utilisé en réemploi comme linteau de porte d'une maison de l'oasis, et est donc placé à l'horizontale. Il a été publié par F. Altheim et R. Stiehl<sup>53</sup>, et republié ensuite : la transcription proposée est celle de G.A. Cooke, 1903 ; aucune traduction n'est proposée<sup>54</sup> :

<sup>52</sup> Cf. T. Nöldeke, 1884, p. 819 ; CIS II, 115, pl. X ; M. Lidzbarski, 1898, p. 447 ; KAI 230 ; J.A. Fitzmyer, & S.A. Kaufmann, 1992, B.4.23, Teima 3, p. 156 ; D. Schwiderski (éd.), 2004, 3, p. 410 ; J. Halévy, 1884, p. 2-8 ; P. Berger, 1884, p. 78 ; S. Al-Theeb, 1993, p. 30.

<sup>53</sup> F. Altheim & R. Stiehl, 1968 ; les dimensions sont approximatives.

<sup>54</sup> R. Degen, W.W. Müller & W. Röllig, 1972

- 1 *smr /dš[*
- 2 *b mr'[*
- 3 *zydn l.[*
- 4 *'lht'[ lḥy*
- 5 *y npš[h wnp*
- 6 *š 'hr[th*
- 7 *l 'lm d/r[*
- 8 *d/r šnt[*

C'est la partie gauche d'une stèle votive, et le fragment porte huit lignes. L'écriture se caractérise par un style lapidaire avec des lettres en relief régulières et très calibrées ; des lignes de séparation sont également en relief.

### ***Une stèle araméenne récente, Taymā' TA 2382***

La tradition des inscriptions en champlevé se poursuit à Taymā' à l'époque hellénistique. Un excellent exemple est celui d'un fragment d'inscription publié récemment par P. Stein<sup>55</sup> ; il provient des fouilles germano-saoudiennes de Taymā' ; il est en grès et seul le bas est gravé de 3 lignes en araméen d'empire, avec des lignes de séparations (le haut est laissé non gravé). Le style des lettres se caractérise par un aspect arrondi des tracés et des sections, ce qui donne une allure qui évoque l'écriture cursive, très différente de celle des inscriptions précédentes. La transcription et la traduction en français sont inspirés de celles de P. Stein :

- 1 *b-10 l-šbṭ dy*
- 2 *šnt 20 tlmy*
- 3 *mlk lḥyn 'd*
- 4 *[...]*

« Au 10 de Šebaṭ de l'année 20 de Tulmay roi de Liḥyān. À cette époque [ ... ] ».

<sup>55</sup> P. Stein, 2013, fig. 4, p. 37.

Le nom royal *tlmy* est très probablement dérivé de celui du roi lagide Ptolémée II Philadelphe (282-246)<sup>56</sup>, et suggère une date vers le début du III<sup>e</sup> siècle.

On peut signaler un autre type de document utilisant le champlevé. Appartenant à l'époque perse, les stèles funéraires taymanites sont bien connues ; elles présentent deux types de gravures, l'une en léger relief, comme dans les grandes stèles historiées, pour le visage stylisé du mort, et l'autre incisée, pour la dédicace funéraire présentant la *nefesh*, la stèle funéraire elle-même personnifiant le défunt ; les deux techniques sont souvent de qualités différentes, tout le soin étant apporté au visage stylisé.

### Les inscriptions araméo-nabatéennes

Trois inscriptions araméo-nabatéennes provenant de Taymā' présentent les mêmes caractéristiques techniques ; elles sont gravées en faible relief avec des lignes de séparation également en relief. Elles continuent la tradition des inscriptions en champlevé jusqu'à la période romaine.

<sup>56</sup> Sur le nom royal *Tlmy* en liḥyanite, cf. S. Farès-Drapeau, 2005, tableau chronologique, p. 123 (début du III<sup>e</sup> siècle av. note ère).

***Stèle araméo-nabatéenne, Le Louvre, AO 26599***



Fig. 4. Stèle araméo-nabatéenne, Le Louvre AO 26599 (ph. M.-J. Roche, 2018).

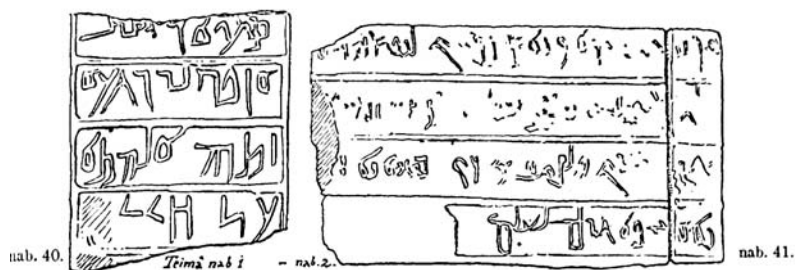


Fig. 5. Dessin des stèles CIS, II 336 et 337 : à gauche, Le Louvre AO 26599 ; à droite, stèle perdue (fac-similé J. Euting, 1885, p. 12, fig. 7, nab. 40, 41).

L'inscription de 4 lignes en partie conservée est gravée sur une dalle en grès, trouvée au Qaṣr de Taymā' et rapportée le 19 février

1884 au Louvre par Ch. Hubert<sup>57</sup>. La plaque est de petites dimensions : H : 0,36m, L : 0,26 ; le bas de la plaque est cassé, sous la quatrième ligne ; les lettres et les lignes de séparation sont en relief (CIS II, 336)<sup>58</sup> ; F. Briquel-Chatonnet note que les traits de séparation sont comme les réglures d'un manuscrit<sup>59</sup>. Transcription et traduction revues<sup>60</sup> :

- 1      *smy' dy [qrb*
- 2      *'zmh br rgq'*
- 3      *ltrh 'lht'*
- 4      *'lhyy [hw*

« Enseigne qu'a offerte 'Azimah fils de Ragqā' à Tarrah la déesse pour sa vie. »

Ch. Huber a publié le premier dessin de cette inscription et J. Euting a publié aussi un fac-similé<sup>61</sup>.

Ma lecture se base sur le réexamen de la stèle du Louvre, et le fac-similé de J. Euting à côté de celui de l'inscription suivante, perdue ; j'ai lu le premier mot *smy'*, que l'on peut traduire par « enseigne, symbole »<sup>62</sup> ; en effet on lit un *yod* plutôt qu'un *nûn*, et donc

<sup>57</sup> CIS II, 336 ; J. Euting, 1885, p. 12, n° 40 (g.) ; Ch. Huber, 1891, p. 322, n° 3 ; h. 0,36 ; l. 0,26 ; ép. 0,65 m.

<sup>58</sup> J. Cantineau, 1932, p. 40, note que les lettres sont en relief.

<sup>59</sup> F. Briquel-Chatonnet, 1997, p. 264.

<sup>60</sup> Cf. J. Hoftijzer & K. Jongeling, 1995, p. 791 : *smy'* a donné *semeion* en grec, cf. A. Caquot, 1955, p. 56 ; F. Briquel-Chatonnet, 1997, p. 264-265, lit au début de la ligne 1, *'mr'*, « vœu » ; J. Cantineau, 1932, p. 40, propose de lire au début de la ligne 1, *qsr'*, « petite chambre ». Je me base sur la similitude des lettres (par ex. le *yod* de *dy*), et le contexte : c'est en général l'inscription elle-même qui est l'offrande (cf. M.-J. Roche, 2019).

<sup>61</sup> Ch. Huber, 1884 (nab. 40 = *Teimâ nab 1*).

<sup>62</sup> Cf. le terme *smyprw*, « porte-enseigne », J. Cantineau 1932, p. 124, J&S nab 60 ; le nom grec σημειον en est issu, cf. J. Hoftijzer & K. Jongeling, 1995, p. 792 : *smyh*.

*smy'* est plus approprié que *šmn*, qui peut avoir un sens proche, celui de « statue, image »<sup>63</sup>.

### ***Inscription nabatéenne perdue***

Cette inscription nabatéenne trouvée par Ch. Huber et revue par J. Euting, n'est connue que par leurs deux fac-similés<sup>64</sup> ; elle est très abîmée et Ch. Huber, qui projetait de la faire scier pour l'emporter, en a fait un dessin sommaire<sup>65</sup> ; J. Euting en donne une transcription avec aussi un dessin. La transcription est reprise par le *CIS* II, 337 (fig. 5, gauche) :

1	<i>mn.. 'wb'šm....y lnpšh</i>
2	<i>...</i>
3	<i>....yblw.....dy lmr'n'</i>
4	<i>bn'...w'hrh l'lm</i>

Cette inscription nabatéenne présente les mêmes caractéristiques techniques que les autres inscriptions araméo-nabatéennes, avec les caractères et les lignes interlinéaires en relief ; l'originalité est la partie droite qui simule une plaque rajoutée, comme cela se fait pour des inscriptions sur bronze, dont s'inspire cette stèle en grès.

### ***Inscription funéraire tardive***

M. Al-Najem et M.C.A. Macdonald ont publié en 2009 une inscription funéraire nabatéenne tardive datée de l'an 203 de notre ère.

<sup>63</sup> *CIS* II, 336 : J.T. Milik, 1978, n°70, p. 98; Id. , 1980, n° 84, p. 111, transcrit et traduit le premier mot de *CIS* II, 336 : '*mr*', « vœu »; à la ligne 2, il lit l'anthroponyme *rg''* ; F. Briquel-Chatonnet, 1997, n° 204, p. 264, reprend les mêmes transcription et traduction que J.T. Milik.

<sup>64</sup> *CIS* II, 337 : J. Euting, 1885, p. 12, n° 41 (dr.) ; Ch. Huber, 1891, p. 323, n° 5.

<sup>65</sup> Ch. Huber, 1884, n° 6.



Fig. 6. Stèle nabatéenne tardive (ph. avec l'aimable autorisation des auteurs M. Al-Najem & M.C.A. Macdonald, 2009, fig. 1, p. 209).

- 1 *dnh npš š'yh*
- 2 *bylṭ' br ywsp*
- 3 *r'š tymy dy 'qym*
- 4 *'lhwy 'mrn w 'šmw*
- 5 *'hwhy byrh 'yr*
- 6 *šnt XX+XX+XX+XX+X+V+III lhprky*

« Ceci est la stèle funéraire de 'Aš'yah/ le conseiller fils de Yūsep/ chef de Taymā' qu'ont érigée/ au-dessus de lui 'Amram et 'Asmū/ ses frères au mois de 'Iyyar/ l'an 98 de la province. »

Cette inscription nabatéenne récente présente encore des caractères propres aux inscriptions de prestige de Taymā' : écriture en relief et traits de séparation des lignes.

Les éditeurs font remarquer très justement :

« The text is in relief and, unusually for a Nabataean inscription, the lines are divided by (more or less) horizontal bars, also in relief. However, compare CIS ii 336, an Aramaic inscription on a stela from Tayma', which also has these divisions. »

Ils ajoutent en note 2 : « By contrast, dividing lines of this sort are almost universally employed in formal inscriptions in relief at the oasis of Dedan. »<sup>66</sup>

S'y ajoute le cadre qui évoque une plaque de bronze, une *tabula ansata* avec les deux anses percées d'un petit trou pour la fixation. L'ensemble donne donc l'illusion d'une plaque de bronze insérée dans un cadre en pierre, et on retrouve ici le même principe de présentation que sur la stèle perdue précédente.

Ces quatre derniers exemples (n° 5-8) d'inscriptions en champlevé de Taymā' imitent très vraisemblablement les inscriptions locales sur bronze. La technique ne semble pas en effet être celle de la cire perdue qui est utilisée pour les inscriptions sur bronze sud-araméennes<sup>67</sup>, mais au contraire celle de l'appliqué, avec des lettres et des lignes formées de filaments de bronze ce qui donne, sur des stèles en pierre, des lettres en relief à la section arrondie très caractéristique : ainsi sur la très belle stèle araméenne fragmentaire récemment publiée (TA 2382), sur la stèle araméo-nabatéenne du Louvre (AO 26599), et sur les deux stèles nabatéennes — la stèle perdue (CIS II, 337) et la stèle tardive, récemment publiée.

## Parallèles

D'Al-'Ulā, l'oasis située au sud-ouest de Taymā', provient une inscription bilingue araméo-nabatéenne et dadanite gravée en champlevé sur le grès local et conservée à Ryādh ; elle a fait partie de l'exposition ALULA à l'IMA en 2019-2020<sup>68</sup> et date probablement du début du II<sup>e</sup> siècle avant notre ère d'après la paléographie<sup>69</sup>.

On lit distinctement à la fin de la ligne 3 : *ldwsr' 'lh nb[*tw et en dessous à la fin de la ligne 4, *hrtt mlk nb[*tw ; le dieu et le roi sont cités avec la même mention « des Nabatéens ». Cette inscription

<sup>66</sup> M. Al-Najem & M.C.A. Macdonald, 2009, p. 208.

<sup>67</sup> Jändl, 2009.

<sup>68</sup> ALULA. 2019, n° 2, p. 79 ; cf. la notice : [https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Inscription\\_bilingue\\_dadanite-araméen.jpg](https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Inscription_bilingue_dadanite-araméen.jpg)

<sup>69</sup> *lb*. Traduction : « Râji' (ou Nâji') fils de 'Amrû fils de S/Š... et Natnû fils de Bagrû, ont offert le dromadaire à Dhûsharâ le dieu des Nabatéens à Dûmat Arétas roi des Nabatéens. »



araméo-nabatéenne est le plus ancien témoignage du culte du dieu Dūsharā et de plus associé au nom d'un roi nabatéen, Arétas, probablement Arétas I<sup>er</sup> (ca. 168 av. notre ère).

La gravure est soignée, nettement plus que les deux lignes de dessous en caractères dadanites, par ailleurs assez abîmés. Le relief des lettres et des lignes de séparation est semi arrondi, mais cela peut être dû à l'usure de la pierre, et les lignes de séparation ont la même épaisseur que les lettres. Cette inscription se situe donc entre l'inscription Stein et l'inscription du Louvre AO 26599 : contrairement à cette dernière, qui reproduit un modèle en cursive, l'inscription de Dadan est de type monumental, car il s'agit d'une dédicace royale, et les deux divinités Tarah et Dūsharā n'ont manifestement pas le même statut.



Fig. 7. Stèle araméo-nabatéenne et dadanite d'al-'Ulā (ph. M.-J. Roche, 2020)

On peut aussi ajouter en termes de comparaison le cadran solaire trouvé à Hégra, par les Pères Jaussen et Savignac, qui porte une courte dédicace nabatéenne en champlevé émanant d'un personnage d'origine juive<sup>70</sup> ; on lit :

*mnš' br ntn šlm*

« Manassé fils de Nathan, salut ! »

On peut supposer que la technique particulière de l'inscription reflète une influence de l'oasis d'al-'Ulā, où se trouvait une communauté iduméenne judaïsée<sup>71</sup>, ce que ne contredirait pas l'anthroponyme d'origine juive.

<sup>70</sup> M. Dieulafoy, 1907, p. 315, fig. ; A. Jaussen & R. Savignac, 1909, p. 302-304, fig. 113 ; J.F. Healey, 1989.

<sup>71</sup> Des inscriptions en caractères hébraïques ont été relevées par les Pères Jaussen et Savignac, cf. *Atlas*, 1914, pl. CXXI, n° 1-8.

Pour compléter on mentionne aussi une inscription nabatéenne sur basalte trouvée à Ḥibrān, dans le Ḥawrān et appartenant à l'époque romaine ; c'est un piédestal de statue d'aigle dont il ne reste que les serres, sur lequel sont gravées deux lignes en champlevé : *dnh nšrw br 'bd / rbw br ḥnypw 'mn'* : « Ceci est l'aigle qu'a fait Rabbū, fils de Ḥanifū, le sculpteur »<sup>72</sup> ; l'onomastique de *ḥnfy* est attestée en liḥyanite<sup>73</sup> ; d'autre part, l'aigle est un symbole du grand dieu édomite Qaws, et la présence iduméenne est documentée à Dadan par une onomastique avec le théophore Qaws<sup>74</sup>.

## Origines et emprunts

### Une technique de gravure originaire de Syrie du Nord

On peut trouver des parallèles à ce type de gravure en champlevé dans deux domaines très différents<sup>75</sup>. Ces stèles en basalte imitent probablement la technique des prestigieuses inscriptions sur bronze, perdues.

Les inscriptions araméennes en champlevé sont rares dans le Proche-Orient ancien et ont été retrouvées essentiellement à Zin-cirli, dans le nord-ouest de la Syrie antique (actuellement en Turquie). La cité était le centre d'un petit royaume araméen dépendant de Babylone, Sham'al (*šm'l*, « nord » en araméen)<sup>76</sup>, et le culte du dieu lunaire y est bien attesté ; le dieu y est appelé non pas Sīn, son

<sup>72</sup> *dnh nšrw dy 'bd / rbw br ḥnypw 'mn'* : « ceci est l'aigle qu'a fait Rabbū fils de Ḥanifū le sculpteur », J. Teixidor dans J.-M. Dentzer & J. Dentzer-Feydy, 1991, n° 10-17 INV. 196 [130], p. 148 et pl. 24, n° 196.

<sup>73</sup> G.L. Harding 1971, p. 627.

<sup>74</sup> Cf. les mentions dans A. Jaussen & R. Savignac, 1909-1914 et dans G.L. Harding, 1971 : J&S lih 265, 334, 83/8, 331.

<sup>75</sup> Il faut noter que des stèles aux yeux funéraires de Taymā' sont décorées d'un visage stylisé en bas-relief sur une surface aplanie (cf. *Routes d'Arabie*, n° 105, p. 256-257) ; la technique apparaît en effet très proche, et probablement contemporaine (IV<sup>e</sup> siècle av. notre ère) des stèles en champlevé.

<sup>76</sup> J. Hoftijzer & K. Jongeling, 1995, p. 1159.

nom babylonien, mais Shahar, *šahr*, « nouvelle lune, mois »<sup>77</sup>. Sur une stèle inscrite de Zincirli, acquise par le Musée de Berlin<sup>78</sup>, le symbole du dieu lunaire est au centre, entouré de deux courtes inscriptions en araméen. Le roi Bar-Rakib est assis à gauche et lève la main vers le symbole lunaire ; faisant face au roi, un scribe debout lève aussi la main vers le symbole divin<sup>79</sup>.

J. Halévy en fait la description suivante<sup>80</sup> :

« Au milieu, entre la tête du roi et celle de l'eunuque, se trouve le dessin d'une pleine lune entrant dans un croissant qu'elle dépasse à la partie supérieure ; au-dessous de ce dernier, quelque chose qui peut être comparé à une colonne avec chapiteau, et à droite et à gauche pendent du croissant des objets semblables à deux houppes ».



Fig. 8. Détail d'une stèle de Bar-Rakib, Zincirli, Musée de Berlin NN1141  
(fac-similé M. Lidzbarski, Atlas, 1898, pl. XXIV, 2).

L'inscription araméenne, qui porte des points de séparation des mots, se lit<sup>81</sup> :

*mr'y . b'lh̄rn . O'nh . brrk̄b . br . pnm[w*

« Mon maître est le Seigneur de Ḥarrān ○ Je suis Bar-Rakib fils de Panamū »

J. Halévy fait très justement remarquer que le symbole lunaire est différent de celui que l'on voit habituellement sur les stèles babyloniennes ; il apparaît aussi sur une stèle de Bar-Rakib provenant

<sup>77</sup> H. Wehr 1979, p. 572.

<sup>78</sup> M. Lidzbarski, 1898, n° 4, p. 444 : « Neuen Museum zu Berlin. Vgl. NN1141, 1145a ».

<sup>79</sup> G.R. Meyer, 1965, VA2817, p. 39 : fig. 80-81 ; relief en basalte avec relief sur deux côtés ; h. 1,12 m, 730 av. notre ère env.

<sup>80</sup> J. Halévy, 1895, p. 392-394 (p. 393) ; J.C.L. Gibson, 1975, n° 17, p. 93.

<sup>81</sup> H. Donner & W. Röllig, 1962, n° 216, p. 232-234.

de Zincirli, et portant outre la représentation du roi et des symboles astraux (soleil, lune), une inscription araméenne en champlevé de 20 lignes, avec des lignes de séparation<sup>82</sup>.

Le symbole lunaire n'est plus ici la représentation symbolique de la Lune, comme sur les grandes inscriptions royales babyloniennes, mais l'image d'un étendard qui devait être placé à l'entrée du sanctuaire de Sîn à Ḥarrān : c'est une hampe surmontée d'un croissant lunaire enserrant une lune pleine, et décorée de chaque côté de deux rubans garnis de glands. Ce motif apparaît sur divers documents trouvés dans la région de Transjordanie : un sceau trouvé à Tawīlan près de Pétra, et des hampes surmontées de croissants lunaires ornant deux niches cultuelles à Pétra<sup>83</sup>. Comme le culte lunaire, dont Nabonide était un zélé fidèle, a probablement été importé de Ḥarrān en Arabie du Nord, l'usage de l'écriture araméenne en champlevé vient aussi probablement de cette région du nord de la Syrie. Il apparaît donc probable que la technique de l'écriture en champlevé à Taymā' a une origine syrienne, et que le culte du dieu lune en a été le vecteur.

Les contacts développés au temps de Nabonide entre le nord de la Syrie, dont la région de Ḥarrān en particulier, et le nord-ouest de l'Arabie, ont donc apporté des innovations techniques<sup>84</sup> ; on note que des contacts entre ces deux régions sont attestés à l'époque perse<sup>85</sup> puis à l'époque nabatéenne<sup>86</sup>. Les quelques témoignages iconographiques d'un culte lunaire à Pétra seraient donc originaires de Syrie du Nord plutôt que d'Arabie du Sud, mais des rapprochements ont pu exister.

<sup>82</sup> Ch. Clermont-Ganneau, 1897, *Album*, pl. XLVI.

<sup>83</sup> M.-J. Roche, 1995, pl. II, 2, III, 1.

<sup>84</sup> Les grandes stèles babyloniennes historiées sont en bas-relief avec des textes cunéiformes gravés sur le fond de la stèle et parfois même sur les figures ; dans le cas de la stèle de Nabonide trouvée à Taymā', alors que les figures sont en relief, le texte cunéiforme est gravé sur un panneau en léger relief, ce qui le met en valeur ; dans ce cas, la présentation est donc différente de celle des autres stèles babyloniennes.

<sup>85</sup> P. Bienkowski dans C.M. Bennett & P. Bienkowski, 1995, p. 79.

<sup>86</sup> Une inscription votive nabatéenne de Pétra mentionne la déesse 'tr 't'/ mn bgyt', 'Atar'até de Mambidj, en Syrie du Nord, *CIS II*, 422-423.

## Les inscriptions dadanites en champlévé

La technique des inscriptions en champlévé à Taymā' se décline sous différentes formes (cf. Tableau, *infra*).

Le deuxième type que l'on a défini, au relief plat avec des lignes de séparation en forme de bandes (cf. Tableau *infra*), s'apparente à la technique des inscriptions liḥyanites d'al-'Ulā, qui lui sont contemporaines (IV<sup>e</sup>- III<sup>e</sup> siècles av. notre ère)<sup>87</sup>. En effet, après la chute de la dynastie néo-babylonienne et la domination perse, l'oasis de Taymā' est passée sous domination liḥyanite, comme le suggère la dédicace de l'inscription n° 2 où l'onomastique est de type royal en liḥyanite<sup>88</sup>.

Sur les 18 inscriptions liḥyanites publiées par A. Jaussen et R. Savignac<sup>89</sup>, les lettres gravées en champlévé sont anguleuses et bien calibrées, avec un méplat et des bandes de séparation.

<sup>87</sup> Sur les inscriptions dadanites, cf. D.H Müller, 1889 ; A. Jaussen & R. Savignac, 1909, 1914 ; S. Farès-Drapeau, 2005.

<sup>88</sup> L'anthroponyme *šhrw*, Shahr, mentionné dans les plus anciennes inscriptions de Dadan, est réservé à la dynastie liḥyanite (S. Farès-Drapeau, 2005, p. 126 (cf. *supra*, n. 45).

<sup>89</sup> J'ai compté 18 inscriptions ou fragments d'inscriptions liḥyanites qui présentent ces deux caractéristiques dans l'ouvrage de A. Jaussen et R. Savignac, 1914, *Atlas* : liḥ 35, 38, 42, 43, 44, 45, 49, 51, 52, 53, 54, 56, 57, 58, 63, 82, 83, 85 ; il faut y ajouter les inscriptions liḥyanites rupestres du site de al-'Uḡayb (cf. A. Sima, 1999).



Fig. 9. Inscription dadanite d'al-'Ulā (ph. A. Jaussen & R. Savignac, RB n.s., vol. 8/4, 1911, fig. p. 554).

Une belle inscription a été publiée par leurs soins en 1911 :

« L'inscription est complète, tracée en caractères en relief, très réguliers et artistement dessinés ; les lignes, au nombre de dix, sont séparées par un large trait, et les mots, pour n'être pas confondus, sont séparés les uns des autres par deux points allongés qui remplacent la barre ordinaire de séparation ; la longueur est de 0m,91 ; la largeur mesure 0m,32 et la hauteur moyenne des lettres est de 0m,06. Nous reproduisons la photographie de l'estampage. »<sup>90</sup>

Bien qu'il s'agisse d'une langue et d'une écriture nord-arabique, la parenté de style avec les inscriptions araméennes de Taymā' du III<sup>e</sup> siècle est frappante (n° 3).

<sup>90</sup> A. Jaussen & R. Savignac, 1911.

## **L'exemple des inscriptions minéennes sur bronze**

Les inscriptions sud-arabiques sur bronze sont attestées dès le VIII<sup>e</sup> siècle<sup>91</sup>. Elles représentent un corpus non négligeable<sup>92</sup> ; la technique utilisée est celle « à la cire perdue »<sup>93</sup> et dans ce cas, la gravure est en champlévé. La fabrication des plaques de bronze inscrites étant délicate, plusieurs méthodes ont été utilisées pour les réaliser ; l'une d'entre elles concerne particulièrement notre sujet, car les lignes d'inscriptions sont séparées par des bandes lisses, plus ou moins larges. La plaque était ainsi composée de différentes bandes horizontales, et entourée d'autres bandes pour maintenir l'ensemble.

À cette époque, une colonie minéenne est établie dans l'oasis de Dadan comme nœud commercial majeur en Arabie du Nord ; des plaques votives en bronze ont été trouvées sur le comptoir minéen de Qaryat al-Faw, actif entre le III<sup>e</sup> siècle avant notre ère et le II<sup>e</sup> siècle de notre ère ; les lettres en caractère sud-arabique sont en relief selon la technique de la cire perdue ; les lignes sont séparées par des bandes plates. La technique de la gravure en champlévé des stèles lihyanites comprend des bandes interlinéaires larges et plates paraissant s'inspirer des inscriptions sur bronze originaires d'Arabie du Sud.

## **L'usage des lignes en relief**

La pratique des lignes finement incisées avant la gravure des inscriptions est bien attestée, et on les voit distinctement sur quelques grandes inscriptions funéraires nabatéennes particulièrement soignées, dont le plus bel exemple est celui appelé Qabr at-

<sup>91</sup> M. Maraqtan & Y.M. Abdallah, 2002, p. 53 ; les auteurs présentent un bel exemplaire très bien conservé, qu'ils datent des environs du V<sup>e</sup> siècle avant notre ère, d'après l'écriture en boustrophédon et le caractère archaïque de certaines lettres.

<sup>92</sup> B. Jändl, 2009.

<sup>93</sup> J. Ryckmans & I. Vandevivere, 1978.

Turkmaniyah à Pétra (CIS II, 350). Ces lignes dont la fonction d'origine est purement pratique, peuvent devenir un élément décoratif, et l'on a vu que les lignes peuvent être aussi en champlevé, comme c'est le cas sur plusieurs anciennes inscriptions sur basalte de Zin-cirli<sup>94</sup>. Il est également attesté sur les six derniers numéros des inscriptions en relief de Taymā', mais sous trois aspects : soit en larges bandes, aplaties comme le relief des lettres (nos 3, 4)<sup>95</sup>, soit en bandes plus larges que l'épaisseur des lettres (nos 5, 6)<sup>96</sup>, soit en lignes de même épaisseur que celles-ci (nos 7, 8)<sup>97</sup>. Par comparaison, on signale la persistance de l'usage de lignes de séparation sur une inscription funéraire nabatéenne tardive gravée en 201 de notre ère et provenant d'al-'Ulā, et donc contemporaine de la dernière inscription de Taymā'<sup>98</sup> ; la similitude de la présentation de cette inscription avec celle mentionnée précédemment suggère la permanence de la tradition des lignes de séparation sur les inscriptions de prestige qui elles étaient en relief.

### Des inscriptions nabatéennes sur bronze

Deux exemples récemment publiés d'inscriptions nabatéennes sur bronze provenant de Pétra et de Wādī Mūsa apportent des éléments de comparaison pour les deux inscriptions nabatéennes de Taymā' (n° 7 et 8).

Un fragment d'inscription sur bronze mentionnant un roi ou une reine a été trouvé dans les fouilles du « Great South Temple »<sup>99</sup>,

<sup>94</sup> Par ex. M. Lidzbarski, 1898, n° 3, p. 443, pl. XXIV, 1 (inscription de Bar-Re-kub).

<sup>95</sup> Cet aspect est signalé par S.A. Al-Theeb, 1993, n° 11 (araméen), p. 47, pl. VII.

<sup>96</sup> Cf. F. Briquel-Chatonnet, 1997, p. 264, à propos du n° 6 du présent catalogue : « les lignes sont séparées par des traits comme les réglures d'un manuscrit » ; mais les lignes de séparation sont dans ce cas plus épaisses que le tracé des lettres, ce qui n'évoque pas de fines réglures.

<sup>97</sup> En revanche la remarque précédente s'applique très bien aux deux derniers exemples nabatéens.

<sup>98</sup> A. Jaussen & R. Savignac, 1914, nab 386.

<sup>99</sup> M. Joukowski, 2003, fig. 239, p. 220 ; Id., 2007, fig. 7.6, p. 148 : une erreur s'est glissée dans la notice : on ne lit pas *mlkt* et il n'est pas fait mention de reine, mais de roi ; à la deuxième ligne, on lit en effet : *...mlk'] m[lk nbṭw...*, et à la 3<sup>e</sup> ligne on lit *...m]lk' w...*



mais n'a rien de comparable cependant avec ce qui se fait en Arabie du Sud.



Fig. 10. Fragment d'inscription nabatéenne sur bronze, « Grand Temple Sud », Musée de Pétra, n° 20 (ph. M.-J. Roche, 2013).

En effet, la technique n'est pas celle de la cire perdue, mais celle de l'appliqué. Ce ne sont plus des filaments de cire qui donneront au final la forme des lettres, après des opérations complexes et délicates, mais directement des filaments de bronze appliqués sur la surface du métal ; cela donne des lettres assez fragiles, qui peuvent se détacher, mais leur modelé arrondi des lettres est très clair.

Par ailleurs un objet circulaire en bronze, appartenant probablement à une lampe, a été découvert à Wādī Mūsa : on peut lire

tout autour de l'objet la dédicace à 'Obodat le Dieu, le roi divinisé<sup>100</sup> ; les lettres appliquées présentent les formes arrondies caractéristiques de l'utilisation de filaments de bronze dans la technique de l'appliqué.

On suggère donc que c'est cette technique d'inscriptions sur bronze d'époque nabatéenne qui a inspiré les le modelé des lettres des deux derniers exemples provenant de Taymā' : l'inscription perdue publiée par Ch. Huber et la belle inscription funéraire tardive publiée par M. al-Najem & M.C.A. Macdonald ; dans le dernier cas, on a clairement copié la présentation d'une plaque de bronze en forme de *tabula ansata*, dont les ailerons sont munis de petits trous factifs, que l'on trouve sur les plaques de bronze destinées à être clouées sur un mur.

## Commentaire

Ces inscriptions en champlevé sont coûteuses et donc prestigieuses ; ce sont des dédicaces religieuses, à l'exception des deux dernières inscriptions nabatéennes qui sont funéraires et la plus récente est la stèle du chef de l'oasis.

Les inscriptions sont réparties sur l'ensemble de la période araméo-nabatéenne, du v<sup>e</sup> siècle avant notre ère au début du III<sup>e</sup> siècle de notre ère.

Le style des inscriptions araméennes en champlevé évolue radicalement après les deux grandes stèles, du Louvre et de Ryādh ; il s'agit maintenant d'inscriptions de dimensions plus réduites, et elles adoptent une allure plus géométrique, qui n'est pas sans rappeler celle de certaines inscriptions liḥyanites d'al-'Ulā, qui lui sont contemporaines. Par contre, les quatre inscriptions les plus récentes, araméo-nabatéennes, s'inspirent des inscriptions sur bronze nabatéennes, au tracé plus sinueux.

La datation des inscriptions araméennes de Taymā' fait débat. Selon J. Naveh, la grande stèle de Taymā' date de la fin du v<sup>e</sup> siècle<sup>101</sup>, ce qui est une date trop basse par rapport au motif historié sur la tranche gauche ; on proposerait plutôt le début du v<sup>e</sup> siècle.

<sup>100</sup> Z. Al-Salameen & H. Falahat, 2014.

<sup>101</sup> J. Naveh, 1970, fig. 10.

Le caractère syncrétique de l'iconographie des deux grandes stèles, mais aussi du cube d'al-Ḥamrā', s'expliquerait par une nette influence perse, et une grande prospérité. Culturellement, l'adoption de l'araméen s'explique aussi par le nouveau pouvoir, sans doute mieux implanté qu'on ne le pense habituellement. L'influence égyptienne, perceptible d'après le nom égyptien Peṭosiris que porte le père du nouveau prêtre Ṣalmšezib de la stèle du Louvre, remonte peut-être à l'époque du pharaon Amasis (570-526), avant l'occupation de l'Égypte par Cambyze en 526.

La datation de la stèle du Louvre pourrait donc être de 500 av. notre ère, d'après les années de règne de Cyrus le Grand (*supra*), et donc du tournant du v<sup>e</sup> siècle ; sa paléographie, qui présente des tracés que l'on trouve plutôt au v<sup>e</sup> siècle, peut s'expliquer par un style cursif plutôt que monumental ; il reste à expliquer la représentation de la silhouette sur la face B : j'y vois une figure royale conventionnelle plutôt qu'une représentation réaliste de Nabonide.

L'écriture cunéiforme n'a été utilisée que marginalement, pendant le séjour de Nabonide<sup>102</sup>. C'est donc vraisemblablement à l'époque perse que l'influence araméenne s'est enracinée à Taymā', où les inscriptions sont en araméen<sup>103</sup>. L'araméen qui s'est implanté à Taymā' à l'époque perse, est aussi utilisé marginalement à Dadan, et les Nabatéens l'ont adopté dès le milieu du iv<sup>e</sup> siècle car en 312 ils écrivent à Démétrios, le futur Poliorcète, une lettre « en caractères syriens », c'est-à-dire en araméen<sup>104</sup>.

La situation de Taymā' comme nœud majeur du commerce caravanier en Arabie du Nord, a mis l'oasis en contact avec l'Arabie du Nord-ouest, l'Arabie du Sud, la Babylonie, les grandes cités de Syrie du Nord, sans oublier les régions occidentales dont l'Égypte.

<sup>102</sup> On mentionne la présence d'une tablette en écriture cunéiforme retrouvée à Tawilān, près de Pétra, et mentionnant une transaction avec la cité nord-syrienne de Ḥarrān (d'où était originaire Nabonide) ; elle est datée de l'an un de Darius, cf. S. Dalley & A. Goguel, 1997.

<sup>103</sup> En dehors de l'oasis, les inscriptions sont en écriture nord-arabique, appelée taymanique.

<sup>104</sup> Diodore de Sicile, XIX, 100, 1 ; selon M.C.A. Macdonald, les Nabatéens auraient eu recours à un scribe araméen car ils parlaient arabe (M.C.A. Macdonald, 2005, I, p. 97) ; cette hypothèse ne s'appuie sur rien.

Parmi les produits importés, on trouve bien sûr les aromates et en particulier l'encens, pour l'usage duquel on a retrouvé sur le site plusieurs exemples de brûle-parfums ; mais d'autres matériaux, pondéreux, mais rares et indispensables, transitaient aussi par l'oasis, comme le fer et le cuivre, dont des gisements existaient dans la région, du moins le cuivre pouvait-il provenir des mines de la 'Arabah<sup>105</sup>. Les métaux, comme le fer et le bronze tenaient une bonne place<sup>106</sup>.

La technique des inscriptions en relief s'apparente à celle de la sculpture, et dérive de la technique utilisée pour les grandes stèles babyloniennes en pierre dure ; elle est donc beaucoup plus onéreuse et est réservée à des monuments prestigieux. De plus, elle permet d'accrocher la lumière beaucoup mieux qu'avec la technique de l'incision et met donc l'inscription en valeur, tout en la rendant plus lisible.

Mais la transposition d'une technique propre à un matériau très dur sur des stèles historiées en grès, une roche beaucoup plus tendre, a amené les sculpteurs à s'adapter ; on remarque que l'usage des deux techniques, bas-relief et incision, est celui de plusieurs stèles aux yeux de Taymā' : inscriptions gravées et face stylisée en bas-relief, par des artisans différents.

De plus, les conditions politiques évoluant, l'influence de Dédan s'est fait sentir et elle est elle-même très imprégnée d'apports sud-arabiques – une colonie minéenne s'y est installée, et une nette influence égyptienne est perceptible à l'époque ptolémaïque<sup>107</sup>.

Toute différente paraît être l'imitation des inscriptions en bronze dans le cas des inscriptions nabatéennes qui les imitent visiblement.

<sup>105</sup> G. Dossin, 1970.

<sup>106</sup> Ch. Doughty, 1884, pl. XVI, fol. 30 (milieu) ; A. Liverani, 1992, p. 111, mentionnant l'épisode de l'attaque de la caravane de Taymā' vers Hindanu (actuel Abu Kemal), signale entre autre la présence de fer ; mais le cuivre, présent dans la région (par ex. dans la 'Arabah), transitait aussi par Taymā'.

<sup>107</sup> On relève en particulier une onomastique d'origine égyptienne, par ex. Pṭsry, le père du dédicant de la stèle du Louvre (CIS II, 113), ou Tlmy (J&S liḥ 45, 77<sub>12</sub>), le plus grand roi liḥyanite du début du III<sup>e</sup> siècle av. notre ère, à l'époque des Ptolémées ; des sculptures monumentales royales l'époque liḥyanite de style égyptien ont été retrouvées dans les oasis, cf. *Routes d'Arabie*, à Dadan (n° 111-113, p. 276-279, n° 116, p. 281) et à Taymā' (n° 107, p. 260).

Les traits de séparation interlinéaires posent un problème particulier ; il faut d'abord rappeler qu'ils sont présents sur les quelques exemples d'inscriptions en champlévé de Zincirli<sup>108</sup>. Mais la coupure chronologique est trop longue, et ils paraissent plutôt être une innovation de l'époque hellénistique à Taymā' ; ils sont à rapprocher des exemples d'inscriptions liḥyanites de l'oasis de Dédan, qui leur sont contemporains.

Le relief plat des lettres et des bandes de séparation des inscriptions 3-4 est également à noter ; ces traits de séparation également en relief donnent à ces deux inscriptions un style qui les rapproche de certaines inscriptions liḥyanites ; elles-mêmes peuvent trouver leur origine dans les modèles en bronze des inscriptions sudarabiques, qui utilisent la technique de l'assemblage de bandes inscrites et de bandes anépigraphes<sup>109</sup>.

Enfin, on a noté que la moitié des inscriptions en champlévé de Taymā' présentées ici, et qui sont les plus récentes, présentent une gravure des lettres – et des traits de séparation des lignes – de forme beaucoup plus arrondie que sur les exemples précédents. J'ai mis cela en rapport avec des techniques différentes d'inscriptions sur bronze : alors que les lettres au relief plat évoquent la technique de la cire perdue, celle des lettres au relief arrondi évoque l'utilisation de filaments de bronze pour dessiner chaque lettre en relief, comme sur des exemples nabatéens de la région de Pétra. La graphie de la plus récente inscription de Taymā' présentée ici, d'un style déjà dit « de transition », est exemplaire à cet égard.

## Conclusion

Les différents aspects de cette simple question de technique d'écriture renvoient aux conditions du commerce caravanier : les données politico-religieuses tout d'abord, avec l'introduction du culte du dieu Sīn à Taymā' et dans la région jusqu'en Édom ; ensuite, l'influence liḥyanite qui véhicule un style d'écriture probablement en rapport avec les techniques sophistiquées des stèles minéennes en bronze, le commerce des métaux étant par ailleurs florissant à

<sup>108</sup> M. Lidzbarski, 1898, pl. XXIV.

<sup>109</sup> B. Jändl 2009.

Taymā'. Enfin, l'influence nabatéenne et l'utilisation d'une autre technique pour les stèles en bronze, celle de l'appliqué. Dans ce contexte, les lignes de séparation peuvent soit imiter la technique des stèles sud-arabiques en bronze, soit alors reproduire la préparation d'un texte officiel par de fines incisions, comme on en voit sur les grandes inscriptions funéraires de Hégra.

Des inscriptions en arabe coufique utilisent aussi la technique du champlévé, sans qu'il soit établi de continuité chronologique.

La complexité sous-jacente de cette simple remarque de technique illustre bien les multiples influences que cette grande oasis du nord-ouest de l'Arabie pouvait recevoir aux époques babylonienne, perse, hellénistique et nabatéo-romaine.

## Annexes

### Tableau des caractéristiques des inscriptions en champlévé

	<i>Inscription</i>	<i>Matériau</i>	<i>Langue</i>	<i>Relief</i>	
1/	CIS II, 113	grès	araméen	/	plat
2/	Abu Duruk 1986	grès	araméen	/	plat
3/	CIS II, 115	calcaire	araméen	larges bandes	plat
4/	Altheim & Stiehl	calcaire	araméen	larges bandes	plat
5/	Stein	grès	araméen	bandes	arrondi
6/	CIS II, 336	calcaire	araméo-nabatéen	bandes	arrondi
7/	CIS II, 337	grès ?	nabatéen	lignes	arrondi
8/	Al-Najem & MacDonald	grès	nabatéen tardif	lignes	arrondi

## Transcriptions et traductions des deux grandes stèles araméennes

### *Stèle du Louvre, AO 1505 ; CIS II, 113*

Transcription et traduction de Fr. Briquel-Chatonnet, 1997, revue :

#### Face A

- 1 [...]bšt XXII[...]
- 2 [...]’ šlm[...]
- 3 [...]ym’ ’lhy tym’ lšlm zy
- 4 [...]šmh bywm’ zn [bty]m’
- 5-8 ... ..
- 9 zy [hxy]m šlmšzb br p̄sry
- 10 [bbyt šl]m zy hgm lhn ’lhy
- 11 tym’ š[dq]w [š]lmšzb br p̄sry
- 12 wlzr’h bbyt šlm zy hgm wgb
- 13 zy yḥbl swt’ z’ ’lhy tym’
- 14 ynshwh’ wzr’h wšmh mn ’npy
- 15 tym’ wh’ z’ šdqt’ zy y[hbn]
- 16 šlm zy mḥrm wšngl’ w’šym’
- 17 ’lhy tym’ lšlm zy hgm ‘[w]
- 18 mn ḥql’ dqln XVI wmn šymt’
- 19 zy mlk’ dqln V kl dqln
- 20 XXI [h’] šnh bšnh w’lhn w’nš
- 21 l’ yhn[pq] šlmšzb br p̄sry
- 22 mn byt’ znh wl[zr]’h wšmh
- 23 kmry’ b[b]yt’ znh [l ’lm’]

#### Face B

- 1 šlmšzb
- 2 kmr’

#### Traduction :

#### Face A

- 1 ... en l’an 22 ...

2  
 3 [...'Aš]ima', les dieux de Taymā', à Ṣalm de  
 4 [...]son nom, en ce jour [à Tay]mā'  
 5-8 [...]  
 9 qu'[a élé]vé Ṣalmšezib fils de Peṭosiris  
 10 dans le temple de Ṣal[m de Hagam. Car les dieux  
 11 de Taymā' ont consacré Ṣalmšezib fils de Peṭosiris  
 12 et sa descendance dans le temple de Ṣalm de Hagam. Et  
 l'homme  
 13 qui détruira ce monument, que les dieux de Taymā'  
 14 l'éliminent lui et sa descendance et son nom de la face de  
 15 Taymā' et voici la dotation qu'ont faite  
 16 Ṣalm de Maḥram et Šangala' et Ašima'  
 17 les dieux de Taymā' pour Ṣalm de Hagam à savoir  
 18 du champ 16 palmiers et du trésor  
 19 du roi 5 palmiers, total des palmiers  
 20 21, année après année, et que les dieux et les hommes  
 21 n'expulsent pas Ṣalmšezib fils de Peṭosiris  
 22 de ce temple ni sa descendance ni son nom,  
 23 (qui sont) les prêtres de ce temple [pour toujours].

#### Face B

1 Ṣalmšezib  
 2 le prêtre

### ***Stèle de Ḥamrā', Ryadh, Musée national, 1020***

Transcription de A. Livingstone<sup>110</sup> :

1/ ]t tym'  
 2/ [h]qym pšgw šhrw br  
 3/ [m]lky lhyn h'ly by[t]  
 4/ [š]lm zy rb wmrḥbh w  
 5/ [h]qym krs" znh qdm  
 6/ šlm zy rb lmytb šngl'  
 7/ wšym' 'lty tym'

<sup>110</sup> A. Livingstone *et al.*, 1983, p. 108-111.



- 8/     lḥyy npš pšgw  
 9/     šhrw wzr't mr'[y']  
 10/    [w]l[h]yy npšh zy [lh]

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# Inscriptions néopuniques de Guelma et de Aïn Nechma au Musée du Louvre

François Bron

EPHE – UMR 8167<sup>1</sup>

**Abstract.** *New study of thirteen Neo-Punic inscriptions from Guelma and Ain Nechma in the Louvre Museum, photographs of which had not been previously published.*

La ville de Guelma, l'antique *Calama*, se trouve en Algérie à environ 75 kilomètres à l'est de Constantine. Dans ses *Punica*, J.-B. Chabot a rassemblé une quarantaine d'inscriptions néopuniques provenant de ce site ou du site voisin d'Aïn Nechma<sup>2</sup>. Il distingue dix-sept inscriptions funéraires et vingt-deux inscriptions votives, mais ne sépare pas celles trouvées à Guelma de celles provenant d'Aïn Nechma. Récemment, ces textes ont été repris par K. Jongeling, dans le même ordre<sup>3</sup> ; il a donné en appendice une étude détaillée des noms propres. Cet auteur a également consacré un article à la notation des voyelles dans les textes de Guelma<sup>4</sup>. Dans son *Dictionnaire*, E. Lipinski a rassemblé les données concernant ces deux sites sous l'entrée « Guelma »<sup>5</sup>. Seul M. Leglay, dans son ouvrage monumental sur le culte de Saturne, leur a consacré deux chapitres distincts<sup>6</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Je suis heureux de remercier chaleureusement les « dames du Louvre » qui m'ont autorisé à publier ces stèles, m'en ont fourni les photographies et m'ont ouvert les réserves du Musée où elles sont conservées, mesdames B. André-Salvini et E. Fontan, puis M. Pic et H. Le Meaux.

<sup>2</sup> J.-B. Chabot, « XI. Les inscriptions néopuniques de Guelma (Calama) », dans *Punica* (Paris 1918), p. 57-94.

<sup>3</sup> K. Jongeling, *Handbook of Neo-Punic Inscriptions* (Tübingen 2008), p. 228-244.

<sup>4</sup> K. Jongeling, « Use of vowel letters in neo-punic texts from Guelma », *DS-NELL* 5, 2003, p. 117-136.

<sup>5</sup> *Dictionnaire de la civilisation phénicienne et punique*, éd. E. Lipinski (Brepols 1992), p. 198.

<sup>6</sup> M. Leglay, *Saturne africain – Monuments*, t. I Afrique proconsulaire (Paris 1961), p. 386-403 (Guelma) et 404-415 (Aïn Nechma).



Treize de ces stèles sont parvenues au Musée du Louvre, dont huit inscriptions funéraires, provenant pour la plupart d'Aïn Nechma. Elles ont généralement été lues correctement par Chabot, mais les photographies n'en ont jamais été publiées. Jongeling reproduit encore les dessins de Delamare, qui ne permettent pas de se faire une idée précise de l'état de ces textes.

### Inscriptions d'Aïn Nechma

Ces inscriptions ont été trouvées par le capitaine Delamare dans les années 1840.



AO 5107 © Musée du Louvre / Département des antiquités orientales

**AO 5107 = NP 23<sup>7</sup> = Guelma N 2**

Dimensions : 29 cm sur 21 cm.

- 1') *l-šdbr bn S-*
- 2') *ldy' w'*
- 3') *š'nt rbm*
- 4') *w' ]mš*

[Cette pierre a été érigée]

- 1') pour Shadbar, fils de Sa-
- 2') lidiu ; il a vécu
- 3') quarante-
- 4') cinq ans.

La première ligne du texte a disparu par suite de la cassure de la pierre.

Le défunt porte un nom et un patronyme typiquement libyque, pour lesquels on trouvera les parallèles chez Jongeling<sup>8</sup>. Ce dernier a eu tort d'adopter la lecture 'w', suggérée par le dessin de Delamare, au lieu de la lecture 'w' de Chabot, confirmée par la photographie.

<sup>7</sup> L'abréviation NP, pour Neupunische Inschriften, renvoie à l'édition procurée par P. Schröder, *Die phönizische Sprache* (Halle 1869), p. 63.

<sup>8</sup> Jongeling, *op. cit.*, p. 229, 363 (s. v. s 'ldy'), 374.



AO 5108 © Musée du Louvre, dist. RMN-Grand Palais / Thierry Ollivier

**AO 5108 = NP 29 = Guelma N 8**

Dimensions : 21 cm sur 24 cm.

- 1) 'bn z ṭn'
- 2) l-Hyṣp h-ṣd-
- 3) 'n (?) š-D'br bn Ym-
- 4) r'w

- 1) Cette pierre a été érigée
- 2) pour Hayṣap, l'affran-
- 3) chi de Dabar, fils de Yam-
- 4) raw.

L. 1 – *Hyṣp* : ce nom, probablement libyque, n'a pas de parallèle.

L. 2-3 – Pour trouver un sens, on est tenté de lire *h-ṣd3)n*, mais la lecture de la fin de la l. 2 est difficile.

L. 3-4 – *Ymr'w* : un des nombreux noms libyques commençant par *Y-*.



AO 5109 © Musée du Louvre, dist. RMN-Grand Palais / Thierry Ollivier

**AO 5109 = NP 22 = Guelma N 1**

Dimensions du cartouche : 27 cm sur 25 cm.

A l'origine, la stèle mesurait 110 cm de hauteur, avant d'être sciée pour faciliter son transport<sup>9</sup>.

- 1) *ṭn' ḃn z l-Tb-*
- 2) *b<sup>c</sup> ṣt-m š Zw's-*
- 3) *n bn Mtnbl 'w'*
- 4) *šnt šb<sup>c</sup>m w-<sup>c</sup>mš*

- 1) A été érigée cette pierre pour Taba-
- 2) ba<sup>c</sup>, femme de Zuosan,
- 3) fils de Muttunbal ; elle a vécu
- 4) soixante-quinze ans.

L. 1-2 – *Tbb<sup>c</sup>* : nom propre féminin, attesté également dans AO 5114/2.

L. 2 – *ṣt-m š* : cette construction du complément du nom, avec le pronom suffixe suivi du relatif, se retrouve à Aïn Nechma dans AO 5110/4-5 et dans Kef Bezioun N 1/2.

*Zw'sn* : ce nom est attesté dans les inscriptions libyques sous la forme ZUHSN ou ZUSN.

**AO 5110 = NP 24 = KAI 169<sup>10</sup> = Guelma N 3**

Dimensions : 27 cm sur 29 cm.

- 1) *ḃn z ṭ<sup>c</sup>n<sup>c</sup> l-š*
- 2) *blt bt M<sup>c</sup>ll 'w-*
- 3) *'š<sup>c</sup>nt 's-*
- 4) *rm w-<sup>c</sup>mš<sup>c</sup>*
- 5) *št-m š Ypt<sup>c</sup>n bn*

<sup>9</sup> Chabot, *Punica*, p. 59, n. 1.

<sup>10</sup> Cf. H. Donner – W. Röllig, *Kanaanäische und aramäische Inschriften* (Wiesbaden 1964), t. II, p. 155.

6) *Kndyʿl*

- 1) Cette pierre a été érigée pour Shi-
- 2) bult, fille de Malul ; elle a vé-
- 3) cu vingt-
- 4) cinq ans,
- 5) femme de Yeptan, fils de
- 6) Kinidial.

L. 1-2 – *Šblt* : ce nom se retrouve, en néopunique, dans Ksiba Mraou N 1/1 et, en punique, à Carthage, dans CIS I, 5948. Jongeling, note la fréquence du nom *Spicula*, de même sens, dans les inscriptions latines d'Afrique du Nord<sup>11</sup>.

*Mʿll* : nom propre libyque, cf. MLLH (RIL 86<sup>12</sup>) et les transcriptions grecques.

L. 3-4 – *ʿsrm* : cette graphie se retrouve dans Hr. Maktar N 17 = BM 125175.

**AO 5111 = NP 26 = Guelma N 5**

Dimensions : 29 cm sur 18 cm.

- 1) *ʿbn tñ[ʿ] l-Mšr*
- 2) *bn Šbm. bn P-*
- 3) *pdgʿmš*

- 1) Pierre érigée pour Mashar,
- 2) fils de Šbm., fils de P-
- 3) ...ʿamaš

Inscription à la graphie très maladroite ; la lecture de Chabot semble la plus raisonnable. À la l. 2, il propose *Šbmh* ou *Šbmɡ* ; ces deux noms n'ont pas de parallèle. La lecture de la l. 3 est très incertaine. La proposition de lecture de Jongeling, 2) *bn šbm šʿnt* 3) [ ] *w-ʿmš*, « âgé de soixante-quinze ans », ne paraît pas acceptable.

<sup>11</sup> Jongeling, *op. cit.*, p. 374.

<sup>12</sup> Cf. J.-B. Chabot, *Recueil des inscriptions libyques* (Paris 1940).





AO 5111 © Musée du Louvre, dist. RMN-Grand Palais / Thierry Ollivier

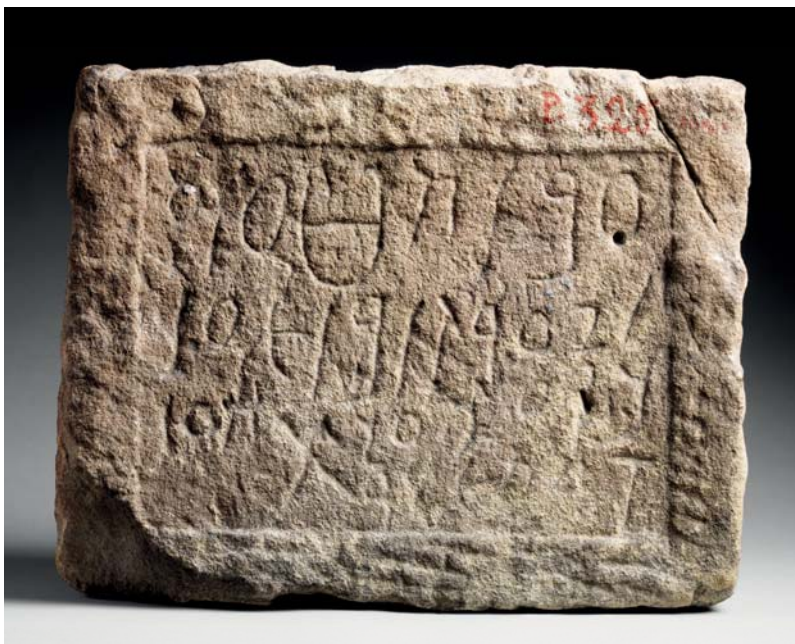
### AO 5113 = NP 25 = Guelma N 4

Dimensions : 31 cm sur 23 cm.

- 1) 𒂍 n z 𒂍 n
- 2) l-Y<sup>c</sup>rt<sup>n</sup> bn M<sup>c</sup>n-
- 3) kl<sup>c</sup>t <sup>c</sup>w<sup>c</sup> š<sup>c</sup>n-
- 4) t ššm w-d

- 1) Cette pierre a été érigée
- 2) pour Yartan, fils de Man-

- 3) kalat, il a vécu
- 4) soixante-et-un ans



AO 5113 © Musée du Louvre, dist. RMN-Grand Palais / Thierry Ollivier

L. 4 - Le *d*, pour “un”, est l’aboutissement de l’évolution de *ʿhd*, cf. Hr. Guergour N 2, *ʿrbʿm w-ʿhd*, “quarante-et-un”, puis Ksour Abd el-Melek N 1, *tšm w-ʿhd*, “quatre-vingt-onze”, enfin Hr. Meded N 17, *ʿsrm w-ʿd*, “vingt-et-un”<sup>13</sup>.

### AO 5114 = NP 27 = Guelma N 6

Dimensions : 30 cm sur 28 cm.

- 1) *ʿbn z tʿnʿ l-*
- 2) *Tbbʿ ʿšt Yml-*
- 3) *q ...*

<sup>13</sup> Cf. J. Friedrich – W. Röllig – M. G. Amadasi Guzzo, *Phönizisch-punische Grammatik* (Rome 1999), § 35 (= PPG<sup>3</sup>).



- 1) Cette pierre a été érigée pour
- 2) Tababa', femme de Yimla-
- 3) q ...

L. 2-3 – Il n'est pas certain que le nom *Ymlq* soit complet.

L'inscription devait comporter une ou deux lignes supplémentaires, désormais indéchiffrables.



AO 5114 © Musée du Louvre / Département des antiquités orientales

## Inscriptions de Guelma

Tout comme les inscriptions d'Aïn Nechma, ces inscriptions ont été trouvées par le capitaine Delamare dans les années 1840.

**AO 5112 = NP 28 = KAI 166 = Guelma N 7**

Dimensions : 33 cm sur 25 cm.

- 1) 'bn t'n' l-B'ly-
- 2) 'tn bn B's' t'n-
- 3) 'l' Ty'ly' w-
- 4) tm b-p's mnl-t-m

- 1) Pierre qu'a érigée Baalya-
- 2) ton, fils de Bassus, l'a érigée
- 3) pour lui Tiyaltiyo et
- 4) cela est prescrit sur la tablette de son héritage.



AO 5112 © Musée du Louvre, dist. RMN-Grand Palais / Thierry Ollivier

L. 2 - B's' : probable transcription du latin *Bassus*. On note, dans ces inscriptions de Guelma, la présence de plusieurs noms latins, ce qui n'est pas le cas à Aïn Nechma.

L. 3 - *Ty<sup>l</sup>ty<sup>3</sup>* : on peut comparer le nom féminin *Ty<sup>l</sup>mr* à Hr. Mak-tar N 55.

L. 4 - C'est J. Février qui a proposé la lecture *km b-p's mnlt-m*, « comme (il est indiqué) dans sa tablette d'héritage = dans son testament ».<sup>14</sup> Cependant, la première lettre de la ligne est clairement un *t* et non un *k*. Le nom *ps*, « plaque, tablette », est bien attesté en punique et la forme *p's* se rencontre dans KAI 165/1 = Qalat Abi s-Siba N 1 ; *mnlt-m* serait un nom à préformante *m-*, formé sur la racine *NHL*, « hériter », pour *\*mnhlt*, avec chute de la laryngale, suivi du suffixe pronominal *-m* de 3<sup>e</sup> personne du singulier. Reste le problème de *tm* : la racine *TMM* n'est pas inconnue en phénico-punique, on rencontre une forme *tm* dans le décret honorifique des Sidoniens du Pirée (RES 1215/1 = KAI 60), qui introduit les différentes clauses du décret ; on la traduit par « il a été décidé »<sup>15</sup>.



AO 5288 © Musée du Louvre / Département des antiquités orientales

<sup>14</sup> J. G. Février, « Textes puniques et néopuniques relatifs aux testaments », *Semitica* 11, 1961, p. 5-8.

<sup>15</sup> Traduction F. Briquel-Chatonnet, in E. Gubel éd., *Art phénicien - La sculpture de tradition phénicienne*, Département des Antiquités orientales du Musée du Louvre - Catalogue (Paris 2002), p. 156. Voir aussi PPG<sup>3</sup>, § 164 et 327.

**AO 5288 = NP 19 = Guelma N 20**

Dimensions : 28 cm sur 12 cm.

- 1) *l-ʾdn Bʿl Ḥmn zbh*
- 2) *Rwmʿnʾ b-mlk ʾzrm h-*
- 3) *ʾš w-šʿmʾ ʾt qwlʾ*

- 1) Au seigneur Baʿal Ḥammon a sacrifié
- 2) Romanus en un sacrifice ʾzrm
- 3) masculin et il a entendu sa voix.

L. 2 - La lecture *Rwmʿnʾ* de Chabot est certaine ; la lecture *Bwmʿnʾ* de Jongeling est due à une irrégularité de la pierre.

L. 2-3 - *b-mlk ʾzrm h-ʾš* : ce syntagme se retrouve sur une douzaine d'autres inscriptions de Guelma, mais aussi à Carthage, à Sousse et à El-Hofra<sup>16</sup>. Son sens a été longuement débattu, en particulier par J.-B. Chabot<sup>17</sup>, O. Eissfeldt<sup>18</sup>, J. G. Février<sup>19</sup> et dernièrement par P. Xella<sup>20</sup>. Chabot a particulièrement insisté sur les très nombreuses orthographes du verbe *zbh* et du syntagme *ʾzrm h-ʾš* ou *h-ʾšt*. C'est Février qui a reconnu dans *h-ʾš* et *h-ʾšt* les notions de « masculin » et « féminin ». Reprenant une proposition de G. R. Driver<sup>21</sup>, Xella compare l'emploi du verbe hébreu *\*zāram* dans Ps 90/5, au sens de « mettre un terme à l'existence » ; cf. aussi arabe *zarama*, « interrompre, faire cesser ». Ce terme *ʾzrm* désignerait donc une personne prématurément décédée.

<sup>16</sup> Cf. F. Bron, « Une inscription néopunique au Musée de Narbonne », in *Phéniciens et Punique en Méditerranée : l'apport de la recherche suisse*, sous la direction de H. Dridi - D. Wieland-Leibundgut - J. Kraese (Rome 2017), p. 119-123.

<sup>17</sup> J.-B. Chabot, *Punica* (Paris 1918), p. 85-91.

<sup>18</sup> O. Eissfeldt, *Molk als Opferbegriff im Punischen und Hebräischen und das Ende des Gottes Moloch* (Halle 1935), p. 22-26.

<sup>19</sup> J. G. Février, « Le vocabulaire sacrificiel punique », *JA* 1955, p. 57-63.

<sup>20</sup> P. Xella, « Eshmounazor, ahoros ? 'ZRM en phénicien et en punique », *Orientalia* 76, 2007, p. 93-99.

<sup>21</sup> G. R. Driver, « Old Problems Re-examined », *ZAW* 80, 1968, p. 174-183.



**AO 5290 = NP 15 = Guelma N 18**

Dimensions de l'inscription : 21 cm sur 16 cm.



AO 5290 © Musée du Louvre, dist. RMN-Grand Palais / Thierry Ollivier

Cette stèle est l'une des rares, avec la stèle conservée au Musée de Narbonne<sup>22</sup> (Guelma N 19), à avoir conservé sa partie supérieure figurative : d'après Chabot, « un personnage tenant d'une main une grappe (?) et de l'autre un objet indistinct »<sup>23</sup>.

- 1) *l-<sup>c</sup>dn B<sup>c</sup>lmn zwb<sup>c</sup>*
- 2) *b-mlk hzrm h-š*
- 3) *Lqy Ṭty l-š<sup>c</sup>m*
- 4) *ʔt q<sup>l</sup>*

- 1) Au seigneur Ba<sup>c</sup>almon a sacrifié
- 2) en sacrifice *hzrm* masculin
- 3) Lucius Titius, puisse-t-il
- 4) entendre sa voix.

La restitution d'une lettre à la fin des lignes 2), 3) et 4), proposée par Jongeling, ne se justifie pas.

L. 3 – *l-* : cette particule se retrouve dans une inscription de Constantine, EH 216/3, *lšm<sup>ʔ</sup> q<sup>l</sup> brk<sup>ʔ</sup>*<sup>24</sup>.

### AO 5291 = NP 20 = Guelma N 21

Dimensions : 22 cm sur 10 cm.

Au-dessus de l'inscription subsiste le bas de la figure d'une femme tenant une grappe de raisin.

- 1) *l-<sup>c</sup>dn B<sup>c</sup>lmn zb-*
- 2) *ʔ<sup>c</sup>b[d]kšr b-mlk*
- 3) *ʔz[rm ]št*

- 1) Au seigneur Ba<sup>c</sup>almon a sacrifié
- 2) ʔAbdkašar en sacrifice
- 3) ʔzrm féminin.

<sup>22</sup> Cf. F. Bron, op. cit. à la n. 14.

<sup>23</sup> Chabot, op. cit., p. 72.

<sup>24</sup> Cf. PPG<sup>3</sup>, § 257 f.

Chabot remarque qu'il est impossible, dans cette inscription, de distinguer le š du z<sup>25</sup>.



*AO 5292 © Musée du Louvre / Département des antiquités orientales*

### **AO 5292 = NP 82 = Guelma 29**

Dimensions : 20 cm sur 9 cm.

Chabot distingue le bas du corps d'un personnage, avec à sa gauche un autel<sup>26</sup>. L'inscription semble curieusement disposée de part et d'autre des pieds du personnage. Elle est trop érodée pour qu'on puisse tenter un déchiffrement.

### **AO 5293 = NP 33 = Guelma 36**

Dimensions : 20 cm sur 9 cm.

Au-dessus de l'inscription, la stèle devait comporter la représentation d'un palmier et d'autres objets non identifiables.

<sup>25</sup> Chabot, op. cit., p. 76.

<sup>26</sup> Chabot, op. cit., p. 81.

- 1) *l-bʿl Bʿlmn pʿl*
- 2) *ʿqlms bn ʿr-*
- 3) *[š] .....*
  
- 1) Pour le Patron, Baʿalmon, a fait
- 2) Aqlamas fils de Ar-
- 3) *[iš] .....*

L. 1 – Chabot imagine que « le lapicide semble avoir voulu faire un trait d'esprit en rapprochant *bʿl* et *pʿl* dans cette ligne »<sup>27</sup>.

<sup>27</sup> Chabot, op. cit., p. 91.



## Une troisième stèle funéraire d'un roi de Maʿīn

François Bron

EPHE – UMR 8167

**Abstract.** *Publication of a third funerary stele of a king of Maʿīn.*

La collection de la Fondation Gandur pour l'Art<sup>1</sup>, à Genève, possède deux stèles sudarabiques, dont les photographies ont été publiées récemment dans des catalogues d'exposition. L'une est une stèle qatabanite, provenant de la collection du Major britannique Van Lessen, qui est publiée depuis près de trente ans<sup>2</sup>. L'autre, en revanche, est inédite et a échappé jusqu'ici à l'attention des sudarabiques, malgré son intérêt, puisqu'il s'agit encore une fois, sans aucun doute, de la stèle funéraire d'un roi de Maʿīn. Elle vient renforcer l'hypothèse qu'une nécropole royale a été découverte et pillée quelque part dans les environs de Maʿīn. Elle a fait l'objet de courtes notices dans deux catalogues d'exposition<sup>3</sup>.

Il s'agit d'une stèle en calcaire, mesurant 59,1 × 24,9 × 18 cm et portant le numéro d'inventaire FGA-ARCH-SA-0012.

La notice du catalogue remarque que « Le style de la représentation est remarquable et sans parallèle », ce qui est parfaitement exact. On note une évolution stylistique très nette depuis la stèle

<sup>1</sup> Je tiens à remercier très chaleureusement madame I. Tassignon, conservatrice, pour m'avoir adressé une photographie de cette stèle, ainsi que les renseignements nécessaires à sa publication.

<sup>2</sup> F. Bron, *Mémorial Mahmud al-Ghul – Inscriptions sudarabiques* (Paris, Geuthner 1992), p. 24 : FB – Van Lessen 11.

<sup>3</sup> *Corps et esprits. Regards croisés sur la Méditerranée antique* (5 Continents Editions, Milan 2014), p. 82, n° 24. Cf. aussi *Alexandrie la divine*, p. 509-511, fig. 94.

de Waqah'il Riyām, indiquant le nez, les yeux, la bouche et les arcades sourcilières de manière abstraite<sup>4</sup>, et celle de Yatha'il Riyām, offrant un visage en bas-relief encore très schématique<sup>5</sup>. La stèle de la Fondation Gandur, en revanche, est presque réaliste : les yeux sont incrustés de pierres de couleur, la chevelure, coupée très court sur le front, est bien indiquée, les oreilles et la bouche sont finement dessinées. On pourrait penser qu'il s'agit d'un portrait idéalisé de ce roi de Ma'in, du nom de

ʾlyf<sup>ʿ</sup> Wqh, Ilyafa<sup>ʿ</sup> Waqah.

Ce roi n'est connu que par deux inscriptions, as-Sawda 27/1<sup>6</sup> = RES 3307 et deux fragments de la muraille de Barāqish, RES 2968 + 2966/3, où il est en corégence avec Waqah'il Šādiq.

La datation, comme toujours lorsqu'il s'agit de chronologie minéenne, reste très incertaine. J. Pirenne classait RES 3307 dans sa période E 2, dans la deuxième moitié du III<sup>e</sup> siècle avant notre ère<sup>7</sup>. Von Wissmann attribuait à ce roi la date approximative de 175<sup>8</sup>. A. Avanzini mentionne les deux propositions, sans prendre parti entre les deux<sup>9</sup>. Quoi qu'il en soit, cette stèle semble nettement plus récente que les deux que j'ai publiées précédemment. Dans son étude des stèles funéraires sudarabiques du British Museum, A. Lombardi proposait pour celles-ci une date dans la première moitié du IV<sup>e</sup> siècle<sup>10</sup>. La stèle d'Ilyafa<sup>ʿ</sup> Waqah pourrait être d'environ deux siècles plus récente.

<sup>4</sup> F. Bron, « Une stèle funéraire d'un roi de Ma'in », *Semitica* 55, 2013, p. 173-174.

<sup>5</sup> F. Bron, « Une deuxième stèle funéraire d'un roi de Ma'in », *Semitica* 56, 2014, p. 179-181.

<sup>6</sup> A. Avanzini, *Inventario delle iscrizioni sudarabiche* - t. 4, as-Sawda (Paris - Rome 1995), p. 120-122.

<sup>7</sup> J. Pirenne, *Paléographie des inscriptions sud-arabes* (Bruxelles 1956), p. 207 et 222-223.

<sup>8</sup> H. von Wissmann, « Die Geschichte des Sabäerreichs und der Feldzug des Aelius Gallus », *ANRW* IX/1, 1976, p. 308-544 : cf. p. 394.

<sup>9</sup> A. Avanzini, *op. cit.*, p. 52.

<sup>10</sup> A. Lombardi, *South Arabian funerary stelae from the British Museum collection* (Rome 2016), p. 34-35.



## Introduction

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La collection d'articles rassemblés ici reprend une série de communications présentées lors d'un colloque organisé en mai 2017 à l'université de Lausanne, dans le cadre de l'Institut romand des sciences bibliques (IRSB), en l'honneur de George Brooke. De 1988 à 2016, soit durant près de 30 ans, George Brooke a été le « Rylands Professor of Biblical Criticism and Exegesis » à l'université de Manchester, en Angleterre. Il est principalement connu pour ses travaux sur les manuscrits de la Mer Morte, sur le site de Khirbet Qumrân, dont il est aujourd'hui encore l'un des principaux spécialistes internationaux. Ses publications, qui comprennent plus d'une centaine d'articles de revues et de chapitres de livres, sans compter diverses monographies, couvrent de très nombreux aspects de la communauté de Qumrân et des manuscrits qui y ont été retrouvés<sup>1</sup>.

Il n'est pas possible de résumer ici l'ensemble des thèmes de recherche qui ont intéressé George Brooke au cours de sa carrière. On se contentera de mentionner, à titre d'exemple et sans prétendre à l'exhaustivité, quelques axes de recherche privilégiés, tels que la signification et l'importance des manuscrits de la Mer Morte pour l'histoire et la transmission des textes bibliques ; l'inscription des manuscrits de la Mer Morte dans le judaïsme du Second Temple et, plus largement, dans le contexte de l'Antiquité ; Qumrân et le Nouveau Testament ; ainsi que divers aspects-clés du positionnement de la communauté et de son évolution dans le temps, tels que

<sup>1</sup> Pour la liste des publications de George Brooke, on peut se référer à sa page officielle sur le site de l'université de Manchester : [https://www.research.manchester.ac.uk/portal/en/researchers/george-brooke\(eba94ce4-6c9d-4935-a04c-dfe0f33d7e1c\)/publications.html](https://www.research.manchester.ac.uk/portal/en/researchers/george-brooke(eba94ce4-6c9d-4935-a04c-dfe0f33d7e1c)/publications.html)

le rapport au temple, la prêtrise, ou encore la notion d'inspiration divine. Il a également édité plusieurs textes de Qumrân, notamment les fragments des Commentaires de la Genèse et de Malachie retrouvés dans la Grotte 4<sup>2</sup>. On pourrait d'ailleurs dire, à cet égard, que le travail de George Brooke représente un modèle d'articulation entre une approche philologique pointue, attentive à chaque détail du texte, et une réflexion plus historique et méthodologique sur la signification de ces textes dans leurs contextes antiques, réflexion qui n'hésite pas à emprunter des modèles ou des notions théoriques aux sciences sociales sans jamais cependant réduire la complexité des textes ou leur imposer des interprétations qui seraient anachroniques.

Durant son activité professionnelle à l'université de Manchester, George Brooke a été très impliqué dans la collaboration internationale qui s'est développée au début des années 1990 entre l'Institut romand des sciences bibliques de l'université de Lausanne et l'université de Manchester. Cette collaboration, dont il a été la cheville ouvrière du côté anglais, a notamment débouché entre 1992 et 2017 (soit une période de 25 ans) sur l'organisation d'une quinzaine de colloques rassemblant des spécialistes des textes juifs et chrétiens de l'Antiquité, dont plusieurs ont fait l'objet de publications sous la forme de volumes collectifs. Le colloque organisé en son honneur en mai 2017 servait ainsi à honorer à la fois un chercheur et un collègue exceptionnel qui, non content d'être à la pointe de la recherche internationale, a aussi su donner de son temps pour faire vivre la collaboration entre les universités de Manchester et de Lausanne et, par ce biais, faire profiter plusieurs générations de jeunes chercheurs (dont l'auteur de ces lignes a également fait partie) de son savoir et de son expérience. En lien avec le domaine principal de recherche de George Brooke, les intervenants au colloque avaient été invités à traiter, à partir de leur domaine d'expertise, d'un thème en lien avec les données qumrâniennes. C'est donc la communauté de Qumrân et ses manuscrits qui confèrent à la présente collection son unité thématique.

<sup>2</sup> Voir George Brooke, « 4QCommentary on Genesis A », « 4QCommentary on Genesis B », « 4QCommentary on Malachi », « 4QCommentary on Genesis C » et « 4QCommentary on Genesis D », in *Qumran Cave 4.XVII: Parabiblical Texts Part 3*, ed. James C. VanderKam, DJD 22, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1996.

Avant de passer à la présentation des différents articles contenus dans ce volume, une précision s'impose. L'article de Philip Davies est publié ici à titre posthume, puisque Phil est malheureusement décédé en juin 2018, soit une année environ après l'organisation de la conférence en l'honneur de George Brooke. Le texte que nous reproduisons ici est publié avec l'accord de Mme Birgit Davies, que nous remercions très sincèrement. Le texte imprimé correspond au texte dont nous disposions avant le décès de Phil ; les seules modifications que nous y avons apportées concernent la mise en forme de l'article ainsi que quelques corrections typographiques. Nous sommes très heureux de pouvoir présenter ici ce texte d'un chercheur dont les travaux ont profondément marqué tant les études bibliques que les études qumrâniennes. Phil se définissait lui-même (entre autres) comme un historien travaillant avec des textes<sup>3</sup>, et peu de chercheurs ont réfléchi comme lui aux problèmes et aux enjeux que soulève l'étude des sources épigraphiques et littéraires pour l'histoire d'Israël et du judaïsme anciens. L'article que nous publions ici, qui est consacré aux rapports entre la Bible hébraïque et les manuscrits de Qumrân, illustre bien certains des aspects de sa démarche ; elle reflète également, à certains égards, le style et l'humour qui faisaient de Philip Davies non seulement un chercheur d'exception mais aussi une personne unique.

L'étude de *George Brooke*, par laquelle s'ouvre la collection d'études rassemblées ici, est une réflexion sur la place de la comparaison dans les études qumrâniennes. Depuis la découverte du site de Khirbet Qumrân et des manuscrits de la Mer Morte, les chercheurs ont été de fait confrontés à une question fondamentale, mais cependant rarement posée pour elle-même : avec quoi comparer ce site, et les documents qui y ont été retrouvés, afin de comprendre à la fois les multiples contextes antiques dans lesquels ils s'inscrivent, mais également leur spécificité ? En citant le Sonnet 18 de William Shakespeare, George Brooke rappelle (à juste titre)

<sup>3</sup> Voir là-dessus par exemple l'un de ses derniers articles publiés : Philip Davies, « With a Bible in One Hand », in *Rethinking Israel : Studies in the History and Archaeology of Ancient Israel in Honor of Israel Finkelstein*, ed. Oded Lipschits, Yuval Gadot et Matthew J. Adams, Winona Lake, Eisenbrauns, 2017, p. 71-86.

que la comparaison ne se limite pas à dégager des analogies, mais sert également à mettre en évidence le caractère unique de ce qui est comparé. Le corps de l'article est consacré à huit cas d'études qui peuvent être considérés comme exemplaires de l'importance d'une approche comparatiste ainsi que des problèmes qu'elle soulève : la question d'une « bibliothèque » qumrânienne ; les soi-disant « manuscrits bibliques » de Qumrân ; le site et la communauté de Qumrân ; les Règles de la communauté et le caractère « sectaire » de cette dernière ; les *pesharim* et les commentaires de l'Antiquité ; le calendrier de Qumrân et le savoir astronomique de l'époque ; la communauté et les origines du christianisme ; enfin, le Rouleau de Cuivre et la question du « trésor » de la communauté. Dans chaque cas, Brooke démontre que les problèmes soulevés par le langage et les catégories employés pour décrire la communauté relèvent *in fine* d'une approche comparatiste ; parler de la « bibliothèque » de Qumrân, c'est déjà poser la question de savoir ce qu'est une bibliothèque dans l'Antiquité, et quels sont les parallèles les plus pertinents pour décrire la collection de manuscrits retrouvés sur le site ainsi que son rapport à la communauté. Dans le même sens, il montre également que les analogies auxquelles les chercheurs ont recouru pour étudier Qumrân ont souvent eu un poids décisif, mais aussi excessif, sur la recherche ultérieure. La comparaison de la communauté de Qumrân avec certaines sectes chrétiennes à l'époque moderne, ou encore la comparaison des textes dits « bibliques » de Qumrân avec le texte massorétique, pour ne prendre que ces exemples, ont entraîné des approches rigides (pour ne pas dire parfois dogmatiques), qui ne font pas toujours droit à la complexité et à la fluidité des données dont nous disposons concernant la communauté et ses manuscrits. L'étude de George Brooke se lit ainsi comme un plaidoyer pour un comparatisme mieux assumé et mieux problématisé dans les études qumrâniennes, qui soit conduit également en dialogue avec les autres disciplines de l'Antiquité.

L'article de *Philip Davies*, qui est publié ici à titre posthume comme indiqué plus haut, est consacré aux rapports entre la Bible hébraïque et les manuscrits de Qumrân, envisagés comme les deux principaux corpus dont nous disposons pour reconstruire les ori-

gines du judaïsme. La première partie de l'article décrit la trajectoire inverse que ces deux collections ont connue depuis la découverte des manuscrits de Qumrân. Dans le cas de la Bible hébraïque, les chercheurs ont toujours mieux pris conscience du fait que cette collection ne reflète le plus souvent pas le point de vue de la société et de l'époque dont ils prétendent parler (par exemple « Israël » au Fer II), mais bien plutôt le point de vue d'une élite active à des époques plus tardives ; à l'inverse, les manuscrits de Qumrân, longtemps considérés comme des documents « sectaires », apparaissent aujourd'hui beaucoup plus comme une collection (ou mieux, comme le dit Davies, un ensemble de collections) de textes datant de diverses époques et reflétant une variété de courants au sein du judaïsme antique. La seconde partie de l'article discute les implications des études empiriques consacrées aux pratiques scribales dans l'antiquité et à leurs implications pour la reconstruction des processus de transmission des textes. Entre autres conclusions, Davies souligne que, contrairement à ce qui a trop souvent été fait, les données empiriques ne justifient pas de poser une césure majeure entre la transmission des textes qui se trouvent à présent dans le canon juif et les textes de la mer Morte : les deux collections reflètent au contraire un processus de réécriture permanent (« continuous rewriting »), et les rapports entre ces collections doivent par conséquent être envisagés de manière fluide. La troisième partie de l'article discute les implications d'une telle approche pour l'étude conjointe des textes de la Bible hébraïque et de Qumrân à travers trois cas d'étude pris dans l'Écrit de Damas (CD). Le premier concerne l'auto-identification de la communauté comme le « reste » d'Israël en exil, dont Davies montre qu'il s'agit là d'un scénario fondamental du judaïsme du Second Temple, qui est également attesté en Esdras-Néhémie ainsi que dans d'autres traditions juives contemporaines. Le second cas discuté se rapporte au calendrier mentionné en CD 3, 13-14, qui est plus proche du calendrier solaire que du calendrier lunaire et que Davies met en relation avec certaines traditions bibliques telles que l'écrit sacerdotal. Le troisième cas, enfin, concerne les rapports entre le récit du Déluge dans la tradition dite « yahviste » et la tradition de la descente sur terre d'une partie des anges, connue notamment à travers le « Livre des Veilleurs » (ou Vigilants). Davies conclut son



étude en soulignant, à juste titre, que l'étude des rapports entre la Bible hébraïque et les manuscrits de Qumrân pose à nouveaux frais plusieurs questions fondamentales sur les origines du judaïsme ancien, notamment en ce qui concerne le rôle du canon.

L'étude de *Charlotte Hempel* prolonge, à certains égards, la réflexion de Phil Davies, puisqu'elle est consacrée à la question des rapports entre les traditions associées à la figure d'Esdras à l'époque du Second Temple et les Rouleaux de la Mer Morte. Comme elle le relève, cette question a peu été étudiée, en raison notamment du fait que le livre d'Esdras est très mal représenté dans les manuscrits de Qumrân, alors que l'histoire racontée par ce livre n'est pour ainsi dire jamais explicitement mentionnée dans ces mêmes manuscrits. Hempel démontre à travers son étude que ces données ne sont pas aussi significatives qu'elles ne paraissent à première vue, et qu'une comparaison entre les traditions sur Esdras et Qumrân est fructueuse à plus d'un titre. Elle commence par observer que le « silence » des manuscrits de Qumrân sur la figure d'Esdras et les traditions qui lui sont associées doit être contextualisé et nuancé. D'une part, certains textes fondateurs de la communauté, comme le Document de Damas, semblent déployer une stratégie plus ou moins systématique consistant à marginaliser les pré-décesseurs du Maître de Justice ; il est donc logique qu'une figure comme Esdras n'y reçoive pas une place proéminente. D'autre part, elle remarque également que la réception d'Esdras à l'époque du Second Temple est complexe, et que d'autres traditions – comme par exemple Ben Sira dans son *Eloge des Pères* – passent également cette figure sous silence, sans qu'il ne soit toujours clair si ce phénomène reflète l'autorité minimale dont jouissait Esdras dans ces traditions ou, au contraire, une *damnatio memoriae* délibérée. Quoi qu'il en soit, le silence relatif des manuscrits de la Mer Morte sur Esdras doit être inscrit dans un contexte plus large. Dans la suite de son étude, et en dialogue avec les travaux antérieurs sur le sujet, Hempel s'attache à esquisser les perspectives selon lesquelles les traditions sur Esdras et les manuscrits de Qumrân peuvent être mis en rapport de manière fructueuse. Après un bref état de la recherche, elle relève, en particulier, l'existence de structures communautaires similaires dans ces traditions, ainsi que la place conférée à l'interprétation de la Loi. Au final, Hempel souligne que la

pertinence d'une telle approche ne réside pas tant dans la comparaison d'Esdras et du Maître de Justice, mais bien des traditions auxquelles ces figures ont été associées, notamment sur le plan de l'exégèse légale, ainsi que des groupes porteurs de ces traditions.

Pour sa part, *Julia Rhyder* revient sur le problème des variantes manuscrites dans l'interdiction de la boucherie locale au chapitre 17 du livre du Lévitique. Lv 17 est, avec le chapitre 12 du Deutéronome, l'une des principales lois sur le sacrifice dans le Pentateuque. A l'instar de Dt 12, la loi de Lv 17 requiert que les sacrifices soient offerts au sanctuaire central ; mais alors que la législation du Deutéronome compense cette obligation en autorisant la boucherie locale (Dt 12,13-19), la loi de Lv 17 assimile tout abattage d'un animal à une forme de sacrifice, rendant de ce fait impossible (en principe en tout cas) la boucherie locale. Un passage du Rouleau du Temple (11Q19 52,13-21) témoigne du fait que les scribes et les copistes de l'Antiquité ont cherché à résoudre la tension entre ces deux législations, en s'appuyant d'ailleurs pour cela sur un autre passage de Dt 12 (v. 20-28). En outre, certains auteurs récents ont suggéré que les variantes manuscrites qui peuvent être observées dans la formulation de Lv 17,3-4, plus précisément dans le *plus* préservé au v. 4 dans un manuscrit du Lévitique à Qumrân (4Q26), dans la LXX ancienne, ainsi que dans le Pentateuque samaritain, témoigneraient d'un effort similaire pour atténuer la législation sacrificielle de Lv 17 et rendre ainsi ce texte plus aisément compatible avec la législation de Dt 12. A travers une analyse détaillée de ces variantes, Rhyder démontre que cette interprétation n'a pas lieu d'être : loin d'atténuer l'interdiction de la boucherie locale, le *plus* préservé par ces versions a au contraire pour effet de renforcer cette prohibition. Rhyder montre également, en outre, que la leçon variante du v. 4 ne doit pas être simplement lue pour elle-même, mais qu'elle doit être mise en rapport avec la leçon variante présente au v. 3 en 4Q26 et dans la LXX, qui a pour effet de rendre l'interdiction de la boucherie locale contraignante non seulement pour les Israélites mais également pour les étrangers résidant sur le territoire. La variante du v. 3 semble ainsi témoigner d'un souci similaire de renforcer l'interdit de la boucherie locale, en élargissant cet interdit aux résidents étrangers. Ainsi que le souligne Rhyder en conclusion, cette analyse implique que la mise en pratique

de la législation du Lévitique et son harmonisation avec celle du Deutéronome ont joué un rôle moins décisif dans la transmission du texte qu'on n'a pu l'affirmer récemment.

*Thomas Römer* analyse les différentes traditions sur l'arche dans les manuscrits de la Mer Morte ainsi que dans quelques traditions juives et chrétiennes ultérieures. La plupart des références à l'arche à Qumrân sont brèves, et dépendent assez étroitement des traditions bibliques. C'est le cas, en particulier, en 4Q364 et 365, deux manuscrits qui appartiennent à la collection du « Reworked Pentateuch », ainsi que dans un passage du Rouleau du Temple (11QT) qui mentionne également l'arche en combinant apparemment les descriptions que l'on trouve dans les livres de l'Exode (Ex 25-26) et de Rois (1 R 6-8). Un autre manuscrit, 4Q375 (ou « Apocryphe de Moïse »), mentionne l'arche dans le contexte de la description d'un rituel clairement inspiré de Lv 16, mais qui introduit également des développements originaux puisque le rituel spécifie que le prêtre doit se placer près de l'arche du témoignage pour étudier la loi et chercher les « choses cachées » (*nstrwt*). L'Écrit de Damas (CD), enfin, mentionne l'arche dans le contexte d'un développement consacré à David (CD V, 2-6). Ce passage reprend lui aussi plusieurs traditions scripturaires, notamment en Deutéronome et en Josué, mais au sein d'une interprétation originale. En particulier, Römer observe que ce passage semble avoir pour fonction de disculper le roi David pour ses transgressions à l'égard de la « loi du roi » de Deutéronome (Dt 17), en expliquant que David n'avait pas accès à cette loi qui serait restée scellée dans l'arche jusqu'à l'apparition du prêtre Sadoq. Römer remarque à cet égard que ce passage de l'Écrit de Damas innove par rapport aux traditions scripturaires en plaçant dans l'arche non pas les deux tables de pierre mais le livre de la loi, bien que ce motif puisse trouver ses origines en Dt 31. La dernière partie de l'article est consacrée plus généralement à la trajectoire de l'arche dans différentes traditions juives et chrétiennes de l'Antiquité, telles que le second livre des Maccabées ou l'Apocalypse de Jean, et jusqu'à la tradition éthiopienne du *Kebra Negast* selon laquelle l'arche aurait été amenée en Éthiopie par le fils du roi Salomon et de la reine de Saba, Ménélik. Ce faisant, Römer montre que la disparition de l'arche à l'époque

néo-babylonienne a donné naissance à toute une série de spéculations sur le devenir de cet objet de culte, spéculations qui se sont prolongées d'une certaine manière jusqu'à l'époque moderne.

L'étude de *Dwight Swanson* compare les techniques d'interprétation documentées à Qumrân et dans le Nouveau Testament. La première partie de cette étude est consacrée aux stratégies exégétiques documentées dans le Rouleau du Temple (11QT) et le *peshet* d'Habaquq (1QpHab). Dans le cas du Rouleau du Temple, la discussion se focalise sur une section des lois sur le pur et l'impur (11QT 49,5-10), qui reprend la législation de Nombres 19 sur l'impureté engendrée par le décès d'une personne dans un contexte domestique en la complétant par la législation de Lévitique 11 sur le contact avec le cadavre d'un animal. Swanson démontre que la formulation légale du Rouleau du Temple repose sur une série de techniques interprétatives, ou exégétiques, qui consistent notamment à compléter une source légale lacunaire par un autre texte ; à changer l'ordre des mots de la source légale pour en clarifier le sens ; et à substituer certains lexèmes par d'autres, qui permettent de faire allusion à des sources légales supplémentaires (ici, Lv 11,34). Swanson note en outre que certains changements lexicaux se retrouvent également dans la LXX, ce qui suggère l'importance de resituer l'exégèse légale à Qumrân dans un contexte plus large. L'interprétation du *peshet* d'Habaquq, pour sa part, met en jeu d'autres techniques exégétiques, tels que le réarrangement ou le remplacement de certains termes en vue de permettre de nouvelles interprétations. Le cas du 1QpHab suggère, en outre, que les scribes de Qumrân avaient selon toute vraisemblance plusieurs versions de la même tradition scripturaire à leur disposition, et pouvaient ainsi utiliser à leur avantage les variantes préservées par ces versions. La seconde partie de l'étude est consacrée à l'étude des techniques exégétiques attestées dans l'évangile de Matthieu, sur la base d'une sélection de cinq passages (Mt 1,23 ; 2,5-6 ; 2,15 ; 2,18 et 2,23). Swanson démontre que l'on retrouve, dans cet évangile, les mêmes techniques que celles déjà analysées dans des documents de Qumrân appartenant à des genres littéraires aussi différents que le Rouleau du temple et le *peshet* d'Habaquq. Cette analyse a des implications pour le contexte social de l'auteur de cet évangile ; à un niveau plus méthodologique, elle implique également que l'étude de la reprise

des traditions scripturaires juives dans le NT doit nécessairement tenir compte des traditions d'interprétation documentées dans les manuscrits de Qumrân.

*Peter Oakes* discute la contribution de *George Brooke* à l'étude des rapports entre les manuscrits de la Mer Morte et le Nouveau Testament, en se focalisant sur quatre aspects de cette contribution en particulier. Le premier aspect concerne l'histoire de la recherche sur les rapports entre les manuscrits de Qumrân et le Nouveau Testament, et tout particulièrement l'identification de « périodes » ou de phases majeures dans cette histoire. Le second a à voir avec l'apport des manuscrits de Qumrân pour l'étude du Jésus historique ; ici, *Brooke* souligne trois domaines de comparaison particulièrement fructueux, à savoir l'enseignement (en particulier la sagesse), l'interprétation des traditions scripturaires, et les exorcismes. Le troisième aspect concerne la question du « canon dans le canon », autrement dit les traditions scripturaires qui semblent avoir été particulièrement importantes à Qumrân et dans le NT. *Brooke*, à cet égard, souligne que les quatre écrits les plus importants à Qumrân sont la Genèse, le Deutéronome, Ésaïe et les Psaumes, et que ces quatre écrits sont également ceux qui sont le plus fréquemment mentionnés dans le NT, bien que les passages cités diffèrent fréquemment entre le NT et Qumrân. Le quatrième et dernier aspect concerne la comparaison entre l'interprétation scripturaire à Qumrân et dans le NT, où *Brooke* met en évidence à la fois une série de similitudes et de différences entre ces deux traditions exégétiques, tant sur le plan des techniques déployées que des buts poursuivis. Dans une dernière section, *Oakes* identifie un certain nombre d'éléments qui ressortent des travaux de *George Brooke*, et qui peuvent servir de base de définition pour les recherches futures soucieuses d'intégrer aussi bien les manuscrits de la Mer Morte que le NT. Il relève, en particulier, que la distinction entre manuscrits « bibliques » et « non bibliques » n'a aucune pertinence et doit être abandonnée, alors qu'à l'inverse la distinction entre l'âge et l'origine des manuscrits doit être prise beaucoup plus au sérieux par les chercheurs. « Where we do have distinction in corpora is between texts physically extant from the period [...] and texts taken to have existed in the period but attested by later man-

uscripts – for instance, versions of Deuteronomy like the MT, Matthew's Gospel. Texts of the latter type would have to be weighed for their degree of relevance to the interpretative conversation. »

La dernière étude de ce volume, par *Luc Bulundwe* et *Simon Butticaz*, est consacrée à l'expression ἔργα νόμου, les « œuvres de la loi », dans les épîtres de Paul (spécifiquement dans l'épître aux Galates) ainsi que dans les épîtres pastorales. Comme le relèvent les auteurs, la publication en 1994 de 4QMMT (4Q394-399), où l'on trouve dans un passage (4QMMT C 27) l'expression équivalente en hébreu *m'sh htwrh*, a significativement relancé la discussion sur l'origine de cette formule et son emploi chez Paul. L'étude commence par revenir sur certaines des lectures qui ont été offertes depuis la publication de 4QMMT (J. Dunn, M. Bachmann et J. Roo), avant de comparer les principaux « points de contact » entre l'usage de cette expression dans le discours de Paul et en 4QMMT. A cet égard, les auteurs notent en particulier que, dans un cas comme dans l'autre, l'emploi de cette expression s'inscrit dans le contexte d'un débat sur l'interprétation de la Torah qui implique une distanciation vis-à-vis d'autres groupes ; que l'expression « œuvres » renvoie ici aussi bien au champ de l'agir qu'à celui de la prescription ; et que chez Paul comme en 4QMMT l'expression « les œuvres de la loi » est articulée à un discours sur la fin des temps (autrement dit, une eschatologie). Sur cette base, la suite de l'article examine plus en détail la signification de l'expression ἔργα νόμου dans l'épître aux Galates ainsi que dans les épîtres pastorales. Dans le cas de l'épître aux Galates, la référence aux « œuvres de la loi » semble s'inscrire dans le contexte d'un débat avec des missionnaires pour qui cette expression désignerait la nécessité d'adhérer à la Torah pour participer au salut messianique. Toutefois, Paul la réinterpréterait simultanément dans une perspective plus franchement anthropologique et théologique ; dans ce contexte, les « œuvres de la loi » désigneraient un aspect de l'humanité incompatible avec la révélation identifiée à Jésus, d'où le rapprochement opéré par Paul entre les « œuvres de la loi » et les « œuvres de la chair ». Dans le cas des épîtres pastorales, que les auteurs définissent comme une « réception de troisième génération », l'usage de l'expression « œuvres de la loi » présente à la fois

des points de continuité, notamment dans la réinterprétation anthropologique et théologique de cette expression, mais aussi de discontinuité, notamment du fait que les « œuvres de la loi » ne sont plus associées désormais au discours sur la « foi » et la « loi ». De ce point de vue, la réception de l'expression « œuvres de la loi » dans les épîtres pastorales témoigne d'un processus de recontextualisation et, en partie en tout cas, de re-sémantisation, qui participe à l'émergence d'une forme de « paulinisme ».

Il va de soi que cette collection d'articles ne représente qu'un échantillon des approches et des thématiques de recherche qui peuvent être développées autour de la communauté de Qumrân et des manuscrits qui y ont été retrouvés. Néanmoins, elle illustre déjà à la fois la très grande richesse de ces données, ainsi que l'ampleur des questions qu'elles soulèvent pour les spécialistes d'autres traditions juives et chrétiennes de l'Antiquité. La découverte des manuscrits de la Mer Morte, avec toutes les péripéties que leur publication et leur mise à disposition du grand public ont pu connaître, a radicalement transformé la manière dont les chercheurs envisagent la production, la transmission et l'usage des textes dans les communautés juives et chrétiennes de l'Antiquité. Sur tous ces points, les travaux de George Brooke ont bien souvent ouvert la voie, en posant les questions pertinentes ; en mettant en évidence la complexité des problèmes, à l'encontre de tout réductionnisme ; et en indiquant les directions dans lesquelles des réponses peuvent être envisagées. C'est donc avec beaucoup de plaisir et de reconnaissance que nous lui offrons cette collection.

*Remerciements* : les éditeurs de cette collection, Julia Rhyder et Christophe Nihan, tiennent à remercier l'Institut romand des sciences bibliques de l'université de Lausanne ainsi que la Faculté de théologie de l'université de Bâle pour leur soutien à la publication des articles rassemblés ici. Nous remercions également Mme Lena Moerikofer, de l'université de Bâle, pour son assistance avec la préparation des manuscrits, ainsi que MM. Michael Langlois (Strasbourg) et Thomas Römer (Collège de France, Paris).

# The Dead Sea Scrolls and Comparisons

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**Résumé.** Pour bien comprendre un objet, il est nécessaire de le comparer à d'autres objets. Dans le cas des rouleaux de la Mer morte, les comparaisons déjà faites sont très variables, et concernent des aspects divers de la culture ou des genres littéraires du Proche orient ancien ainsi que du monde gréco-romain durant plus de deux millénaires. La présente étude porte sur huit exemples de comparaison, afin d'évaluer les problèmes et de poser des questions concernant les méthodes et les résultats de la recherche sur les rouleaux de la Mer morte. Cette étude fait partie d'un projet plus vaste portant sur l'approche comparatiste de ces textes et de la communauté qui les a produits.

## 1. Introduction

This paper is about analogy, comparison, and how it seems to be taking place in so many surprisingly different and uncoordinated ways in relation to the Dead Sea Scrolls; the paper is not about contrast, what things might be set over against.<sup>1</sup> What makes for an apposite comparison? The *Miami News* of 23 September 1973 reported as follows:

An interesting switch was pulled in Rome yesterday by Adam Nordwell, an American Chippewa chief. As he descended his plane from California dressed in full tribal regalia, Nordwell announced in the name of the American Indian people that he was taking possession

<sup>1</sup> A version of this paper was first presented in Lausanne on 27<sup>th</sup> April 2017, my 65<sup>th</sup> birthday; a revised version was presented in Groningen in January 2018 and will eventually form part of a larger project on the Dead Sea Scrolls and Comparative Studies embarked upon while I was Dirk Smilde Fellow at the University of Groningen in the Spring Semester of 2018 and still to be developed further. I am grateful to my interlocutors at the Lausanne presentation, especially Christophe Nihan whose comments have been very helpful.



of Italy “by right of discovery” in the same way that Christopher Columbus did in America. “I proclaim this day the day of the discovery of Italy”, said Nordwell. “What right did Columbus have to discover America when it had already been inhabited for thousands of years? The same right I now have to come to Italy and proclaim the discovery of your country”.

What is being compared with what in Nordwell’s words and actions?

For the Dead Sea Scrolls two matters can be set out immediately. The first is that at least part of the fascination that the Scrolls command is the result of us knowing, more or less, where they come from, when they were penned, who collected them together, and their significance in changing the perspective on things that previously could only be surmised. This knowledge, debated as though some of it might be, enables the Scrolls to hold a strong position in any comparative exercise. And the second matter we are aware of is that scholars remain remarkably unclear in very many instances about how the Scrolls should be most suitably understood; in my opinion, that lack of clarity is in large measure because there has not been enough reflection on the key issue of what might form the most suitable basis for their comparative understanding, both in part and as a whole.

Three further issues have clouded the scholarly approach. First, there is the issue of the relative absence of immediately suitable, that is local and contemporary comparative material. It is indeed the case that before the Scrolls were discovered all we had in Hebrew and Aramaic from Palestine at the time of Hillel and Jesus were some coin inscriptions, some ossuary inscriptions, and a few other bits and pieces. From the eleven or twelve or more caves at and near Qumran there are now about one thousand manuscripts, mostly fragmentary, in all shapes and sizes, and quite remarkably overwhelmingly containing literary compositions rather than merely being documentary debris, such as legal documents, bills of sale, receipts, etc. Quite simply, there is nothing in Palestine from that time with which the Scrolls can be compared. Even when the other textual discoveries from the Judean wilderness are consid-

ered, such as those from Wadi Daliyeh, 14 kilometres north of Jericho, or those from Masada at the south-western end of the Dead Sea, the Qumran finds remain highly distinctive as a literary collection. But, in my opinion, we must question the degree and kind of distinctiveness that the collection has through appropriate comparative study.

And a second point to be kept in mind is just how the dominant narratives of the period have controlled both the scholarly and the popular discourse. Those narratives include the way that Josephus constructs the historical overview of the period from the Maccabean revolt in 167-164 BCE until the fall of Masada in 73 or 74 CE into which has been fitted, almost without reflection, the Teacher and his movement; Josephus's construction of Jewish history remains dominant. The dominant narratives also include the standard Sunday School view of the more or less single line development of normative ideological Judaism from the time of Ezra's reading of the Law and the apparent end of prophecy to the time of Rabbi Judah the Prince, whose broader frame of reference is a straight line from Moses to Maimonides. And the dominant narratives also include several sets of assumptions about what might have constituted the cultural complexities of the time, often with misuse of such terms as Hellenistic which for some serves as a geographical as well as a temporal marker in addition to its cultural connotations. For the Scrolls from the caves at and near Qumran such a historical narrative as that of Josephus has inhibited what might be said about the origins and diversity and significance of the movement, that of the single line of the ideological development of Judaism has led to the marginalisation of all this new evidence, and that of cultural hegemony has often imposed an introverted religious sectarian purism on the people behind all the new data which they might not really deserve.

Third, there is the modern problem of the fragmentation of knowledge. In the Humanities in recent decades it has become increasingly obvious that there is an urgent need for collaboration and cooperation amongst scholars. That has often seemed to be the case in the field of Dead Sea Scrolls, but in fact in many such collaborations each contributor speaks from and remains in their chosen specialism or sub-specialism; few dare to offer integrative or

synthetic overviews. As such it is intriguing to see that within one specialist sub-field of Dead Sea Scrolls studies comparative work is carried on in one way, whereas in another the comparative work is of a rather different sort. In this brief essay, perhaps somewhat surprisingly, we will cover very briefly comparative material from hundreds of years apart and from very different regions. Why should that be so?

In all this my argument is that there needs to be greater reflection on the character of comparativism, the methods and assumptions of comparative study as that is undertaken in relation to the Dead Sea Scrolls. Adam Nordwell's claim to have discovered Italy is helpful in this respect. Comparative work depends upon there being some fundamental similarity: "both Nordwell and Columbus claimed a country that had already been inhabited by its own people for centuries. Thus, Nordwell insists that he has as much 'right' to claim Italy as Columbus had to claim America".<sup>2</sup> Nordwell's analogical point is that just as he really has no right to claim Italy for the American Indian people, so Columbus had no right to claim America. That is how good, sound analogy works or is supposed to work.

The student of comparativism might do well to keep in mind William Shakespeare's Sonnet 18 in which the poet addresses his beloved:

Sonnet 18

Shall I compare thee to a summer's day?  
 Thou art more lovely and more temperate.  
 Rough winds do shake the darling buds of May,  
 And summer's lease hath all too short a date.  
 Sometime too hot the eye of heaven shines,  
 And often is his gold complexion dimmed;  
 And every fair from fair sometime declines,  
 By chance, or nature's changing course, untrimmed;  
 But thy eternal summer shall not fade,  
 Nor lose possession of that fair thou ow'st,  
 Nor shall death brag thou wand'rest in his shade,

<sup>2</sup> Anthony Weston, *A Rulebook for Arguments*, 4<sup>th</sup> ed., Indianapolis, IN, Hackett Publishing, 2009, p. 20.

When in eternal lines to Time thou grow'st.  
 So long as men can breathe, or eyes can see,  
 So long lives this, and this gives life to thee.

The sonnet begins with the classic question concerning what might make a suitable comparison for an adequate description of the beloved. The argument is then built through what some rabbis came to describe as an argument of *qal wahomer*, an argument from the lesser to the greater, a common form of comparison (if such and such is the simple, plain or light case, then how much more is it the case that...). Then the development of the poet's thinking is that the beloved is beyond compare: not like a summer's day, or even a whole glorious summer season, but an eternal summer unlike anything known; this approach raises acutely how one might describe the unique or distinctive elements of anything. But finally, the Sonnet makes the point that the very quest for comparison is what endorses and ensures the very distinctiveness of the beloved: "this [the poem] gives life to thee". Are the Dead Sea Scrolls like something else? Or are they beyond compare? Or should we not rather engage with the comparative quest and ask more plainly: "With what and how shall we compare the Dead Sea Scrolls?"

## 2. Eight Examples of Comparison

### 2.1. A Library?

Frank M. Cross wrote one of the most influential general surveys of the scrolls from the Qumran Cave based on his Haskell Lectures. It was entitled deceptively simply, *The Ancient Library of Qumran and Modern Biblical Studies* and has gone through three editions.<sup>3</sup> But what does the term "library" conjure up as a descriptive label? The

<sup>3</sup> Frank Moore Cross, Jr., *The Ancient Library of Qumran and Modern Biblical Studies: The Haskell Lectures 1956-1957*, Garden City, NY, Doubleday, 1958; revised ed., Anchor Books, Garden City, NY, Doubleday, 1961; 3<sup>rd</sup> ed., revised and extended, Sheffield, Sheffield Academic Press, 1995.

question has been the topic of some extensive debate, including in a recent conference and its published proceedings, and so we can acknowledge that our first example is one over which contemporary scholars are now much more self-aware than the first generation.<sup>4</sup>

The use of the term library for what survives from the caves at and near Qumran might continue to serve some heuristic purpose. The modern etic term implies that the manuscripts from the caves at and near Qumran should be considered against a set of criteria which the term “library” presupposes or conjures up. One such criterion might be that the manuscripts together reflect some kind of collecting intention. In fact, there is indeed a remarkable coherence about what has been preserved. For a start, as has been mentioned, it is almost entirely a literary collection. In addition, it is apparent that there are virtually no non-Jewish compositions amongst the collection, possibly none at all. And within the collection, depending upon how one constructs the developing ideologies of the movement making use of the manuscripts, there is an ideological coherence of sorts, so that even compositions that could be picked up by other communities, such as eventually the Book of Jubilees and the Books of Enoch were in the Eastern Churches, nevertheless those same compositions can be appreciated as on a trajectory that might lead to some form of sectarian thinking.

But at least two things need to be said in relation to such a comparison. The first is the demand, commonly to be heard, that the most apposite historical comparisons are those that are contemporary with the data being investigated. With what collections or libraries from the ancient world might a suitable comparison be made? Do scholars make conjectures, for example, about the likely contents and purposes of the Temple library in Jerusalem of which nothing apparently survives, unless you believe that the Qumran finds represent part of that very library? Do scholars go slightly further afield and think of the archival and hieratic character of the library at Alexandria? Or is the comparison better made with

<sup>4</sup> Sidnie White Crawford and Cecilia Wassén, eds., *The Dead Sea Scrolls at Qumran and the Concept of a Library*, STDJ 116, Leiden, Brill, 2015.

the Library of Pergamum which might have contained up to 200,000 scrolls which flourished at the turn of the 3<sup>rd</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> centuries BCE and had a female patron, Flavia Melitene?<sup>5</sup> Or should the comparison be with the Library of Celsus at Ephesus, which was a kind of Mausoleum (perhaps matching the Qumran cemetery)? Or should the comparison be with the private library at Herculaneum of about 1800 papyrus scrolls (similar in size to what survives from Qumran) mostly concerned with Epicurean philosophy, and so of ideological coherence? Or might the better comparison be with the collection of 750 tablets preserved at Vindolanda which are mostly administrative and personal documents?<sup>6</sup>

The second qualification to be made concerns the finds from the Qumran caves themselves. To begin with it has to be noted that the caves are principally of two kinds, the natural caves in the cliffs some way from the Qumran site, and the man-made caves in the marl terraces at and adjacent to Qumran. Do the different types and locations of cave serve different purposes which might undermine seeing the collection as a whole? Then, in addition, there is the character of the remains from each cave. To my mind the finds from Cave 1, for example, probably wrapped in linen and deposited in sealed jars, are akin to later genizot—the manuscripts appear to be buried and are unlikely to have been for regular reuse. On the other hand, several scholars have noted that the deposit in Cave 6 looks like the remains of a personal library, those in Cave 7 are all in Greek and on papyrus, perhaps a special collection, and those in Cave 4 might form a working deposit for the community at the site a stone's throw away, or as Geza Vermes, the doyen of British Scrolls scholarship used to enjoy remarking, “within spitting distance” (since the community members were prohibited from spitting: 1QS 7:13). The date of the various deposits has also to be taken into account and the likelihood that some of the manuscripts were being copied at Qumran for sale or distribution elsewhere. Libraries that sell their books are, for academics at least, often objects of

<sup>5</sup> Like Enriqueta Rylands for the John Rylands Library in Manchester at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> and start of the 20<sup>th</sup> centuries.

<sup>6</sup> The Vindolanda tablets are mostly documentary texts, including an invitation to a birthday party—mentioned here merely because this paper was first delivered on my 65<sup>th</sup> birthday!

scorn, but perhaps we should conceive of Qumran as more than a library, perhaps also as a place of regular scroll manufacture for widespread distribution across the movement.<sup>7</sup> The Qumran collection of manuscripts does not seem to be quite like the specialist collection of the Bodmer Foundation in Geneva, nor like the library of the University of Lausanne.

In all this we learn that analogies require relevantly similar examples.<sup>8</sup> Now that very nearly all the fragmentary manuscripts from the Qumran caves are published, some even in re-editions, the process has begun of the thorough reassessment of the nature of the scrolls from Qumran and their various caves; many fresh questions are being asked. Once there are some more secure answers, then there might well be the basis for the selection of relevantly similar examples of literary collections from the ancient world with which appropriate comparison can be made. However, even at this stage comparison can aid in the better understanding of the Qumran scrolls and the kind of questions that might be addressed to them: for example, who were the patrons of the manuscript production or who were the purchasers of scrolls penned by others (perhaps not members of the movement)? Since some scrolls are on skin (as possibly at Pergamum) and some on papyrus (as at Alexandria and Herculaneum), in any particular instance why was one type of material chosen for the production of a manuscript rather than another?<sup>9</sup> And so on. Thus, at this stage in relation to the first example, comparison certainly helps create suitable sets of questions with which the data from the caves at and near Qumran can be interrogated, but whether it can prove the right answers has yet to be worked out.

<sup>7</sup> As famously argued by Hartmut Stegemann, "Qumran: Founded for Scripture", in *Proceedings of the British Academy* 97, 1998, p. 1-14.

<sup>8</sup> Weston, *A Rulebook for Arguments*, p. 21-22.

<sup>9</sup> For some preliminary considerations see George J. Brooke, "Choosing between Papyrus and Skin: Cultural Complexity and Multiple Identities in the Qumran Library", in *Jewish Cultural Encounters in the Ancient Mediterranean and Near Eastern World*, ed. Mladen Popović, Myles Schoonover, and Marijn Venderberghe, Supplements to the Journal for the Study of Judaism 178, Leiden, Brill, 2017, p. 119-135.

## 2.2. The So-called Biblical Texts

Amongst the very first finds of manuscripts from what came to be designated as Cave 1 were two copies of Isaiah. The best preserved came into the hands of the Syrian Orthodox Archbishop in Jerusalem, Mar Athanasius Samuel, the less well-preserved was purchased by Eliezer Sukenik at the Hebrew University. It very quickly became apparent that both scrolls contained multiple minor variants from the standard Masoretic Text of the medieval rabbinic Bibles. And that is the point of this section. With previously known texts comparison is swiftly made with known forms of them. For the better appreciation of the evidence from the Qumran caves this basic comparison has had several problematic features, which have only relatively recently begun to be properly addressed, and some ongoing influences some of which are positive and others negative.

Using the Masoretic Text as the norm or standard for comparison with the manuscript data from Qumran has created some anachronistic anomalies which very probably have also been complicated because of the issue of the authority that the later form of the text carries for the Jewish community and Western Christians. It is difficult to convince people, even some scholars, that the Masoretic Text is the result of a long chain of transmission involving many accidents, rather than something that persistently carries the voice of the divine from earliest times. As a result of some early studies the so-called Great Isaiah Scroll was defined as a popular (“vulgar”) text by the first generation of textual critics and seen to be of little value for the discussion of the transmission of Isaiah.<sup>10</sup> Few commentaries take the scroll seriously.<sup>11</sup> The Hebrew University Bible project and the more recent publication of a new edition

<sup>10</sup> See the discussion in Jesper Høgenhaven, “The Isaiah Scroll and the Composition of Isaiah”, in *Qumran between the Old and New Testaments*, ed. Frederick H. Cryer and Thomas L. Thompson, JSOTSup 290, Copenhagen International Seminar 6, Sheffield, Sheffield Academic Press, 1998, p. 151–158.

<sup>11</sup> Exceptions in English are Joseph Blenkinsopp, *Isaiah: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary*. 3 vols. *Isaiah 1–39*; *Isaiah 40–55*; *Isaiah 56–66*, AB 19, 19A, 19B, New York, NY, Doubleday, 2000–2002; Hugh G. M. Williamson, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on Isaiah 1–27*, vol. 1: *Isaiah 1–5*, London, T&T Clark, 2006; vol. 2: *Isaiah 6–12*, London, Bloomsbury T&T Clark, 2018.



of the manuscript have brought it back into the conversation in a detailed way so that it can be appreciated for what it is, rather than denigrated because of comparison with the authoritative MT.<sup>12</sup>

On a positive note the publication of the so-called biblical manuscripts, about 200 of them, from the caves at and near Qumran has enabled scholars to see with fresh eyes the “vitality of scripture” in the late Second Temple period.<sup>13</sup> Very significantly this has rejuvenated the study of the Greek versions and also the Samaritan textual tradition, which have become thriving areas of research, since the antiquity of many readings can now be demonstrated from Dead Sea Scroll manuscripts. So perhaps it is those versions that are the more significant and relevant comparators for the so-called biblical manuscripts from the Qumran caves than the Masoretic Text. And it is not that this textual variety existed discretely in different places, because it is all present in just one place. Nor is it possible to determine whether at any one time in the period before the fall of the Temple in 70 CE there was only ever one official text of scripture in play. This all shows that scribes were active participants in the transmission process of scriptural and other texts, and, if anything is to be said to faith communities today about scripture, it has to do with how the faithful need to take a similarly active role in being responsible for the suitable transmission and interpretation of their texts and traditions.

On a negative note, the availability of all the rich and varied evidence from the Qumran caves has given rise to some scholars sensing an opportunity for reaching back at least to some kind of textual archetype, if not to the original words that were supposedly written at some point. Ronald Hendel’s *Hebrew Bible: A Critical Edition* is an idealistic venture that is unlikely to satisfy its users unless all the data put into service is made available somehow in an electronic fashion that allows for appropriate manipulation.<sup>14</sup> Hendel’s

<sup>12</sup> For the new edition see Eugene C. Ulrich and Peter W. Flint, *Qumran Cave 1.II: The Isaiah Scrolls. Part 1: Plates and Transcriptions; Part 2: Introduction, Commentary, and Textual Variants*, DJD 32, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 2010.

<sup>13</sup> The phrase is borrowed from Hindy Najman, “The Vitality of Scripture Within and Beyond the Canon”, *JSJ* 43, 2012, p. 497–518.

<sup>14</sup> The justification for *The Hebrew Bible, A Critical Edition* can be found in Ronald S. Hendel, *Steps to A New Edition of the Hebrew Bible*, TCSt 10, Atlanta, GA, SBL Press,

work is based on a comparison with the methods and approaches of textual critics in other fields, especially New Testament critics; although many of those textual critics are increasingly moving to various kinds of diplomatic editions, Hendel is eagerly promoting the value of eclectic editions presenting archetypes, what one might characterize as the scholarly production of texts that probably never existed anywhere, all in the name of moving as close as possible to the perfect original. Here the comparison with sets of textual data elsewhere seems to have resulted in the creation of a project with problematic outcomes and implications.

Thus, the so-called biblical manuscripts have been analyzed through comparison with other forms of the text of the biblical books and in many ways this has had a distorting effect, both on the way the material from the Qumran caves is described (the “Bible” manuscripts in each cave are always listed first and in the order of the later canon), but also in how it is all discussed. There is indeed much awareness of what is problematic but a new thoroughgoing approach has not been put together yet because of the overwhelming control of the Masoretic Text.

### 2.3. The Qumran Site and Its Community

Even a few years ago there were some signs at the Qumran site that seemed to belong to another era of the site’s interpretation. They indicated that the ruins, Khirbet Qumran, should be understood as akin to a monastery with its refectory and various workshops, using such words as “scriptorium”. Perhaps the signs have now been taken away, but their long-term survival reflects the ongoing problem that continues to challenge the archaeologists, namely the absence of comparative sites with which to understand the Qumran site all the better.

It was Eliezer Sukenik who first promoted the idea that those responsible for the Hodayot and the Rule of the Community were

2016. An attempt to put all the data into an electronic resource is presented in the Critical Editions for Digital Analysis and Research (CEDAR) project (Sarah Yardney, Sandra Schloen and Miller Prosser) at the Oriental Institute, University of Chicago; Genesis has been encoded alongside other exemplary texts.

none other than the Essenes of the classical sources, especially those of Philo, Josephus, and Pliny the Elder. And it was the evidence of Pliny, though frequently contested, that has not only placed the Essenes at the Qumran site, “beneath which is Ein Gedi”, but which has also been responsible for depicting the occupants as celibate ascetics. Claude Conder was amongst those in the 19<sup>th</sup> century who paraphrased Pliny’s description: “From a very early period this horrible wilderness appears to have had an attraction for ascetics, who sought a retreat from the busy world of their fellow men, and who sought to please God by torturing their bodies he had given them. Thus the Essenes, the Jewish sect whose habits and tenets resembled so closely those of the first Christians, retired into this wilderness and lived in caves”.<sup>15</sup> Twenty-five years earlier Félicien de Saulcy, on his expedition to circumnavigate the Dead Sea, associated the Essenes with the monks of Mar Saba, a few kilometres from the Qumran site.<sup>16</sup> And a standard pre-1947 view was that the Essenes were the finest example in Judaism that could explain the development of cenobitic monasticism in Christianity, especially in wilderness or desert settings.<sup>17</sup>

Assumptions about the inhabitants of Qumran based on the descriptions of celibate ascetics described in the writings of Philo, Josephus and Pliny have often been challenged or given refined nuance, but the analogical influence of Christian monastic terminology and the desire to recognize key correlations and not to multiply entities has created a strong view, not just that the occupants of Qumran were Essenes of some sort, but that the site, with its distinctiveness, must have had some major role in the life of the

<sup>15</sup> Claude Conder, *Tent Work in Palestine*, London, Richard Bentley and Sons, 1878, p. 301; cited by Joan E. Taylor, *The Essenes, the Scrolls, and the Dead Sea*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2012, p. 249-250.

<sup>16</sup> Félicien de Saulcy, *Narrative of a Journey Round the Dead Sea and in the Bible Lands in 1850 and 1851*, 2 vols., London, 1853.

<sup>17</sup> See, e.g., the exemplary and comprehensive study by Henri Leclercq, “Cénobiticisme”, in *Dictionnaire d’archéologie Chrétienne et de liturgie*, ed. Fernand Cabrol, Paris, Letouzey et Ané, 1910. From the Greek world such was observed amongst the Pythagoreans; for the Jewish world attention was given overwhelmingly to the Essenes.

movement of which the Qumran group was a part. The archaeologists in particular have rather been in search of explanatory descriptions of the site which provide key correlations with other sites and reduce the stress on the site's apparent monastic distinctiveness. Thus, similar forms of burial have been identified in Jerusalem and trans-Jordan; similar pottery types and profiles are identified at Jericho; similar concern for ritual purity is identified in private dwellings in Jerusalem; and so on. Nevertheless, it remains the case that overall there is much that is distinctive of the Qumran site and for which suitable comparison is urgently needed.<sup>18</sup>

And as for the most suitable understanding of the community that inhabited the site, there is still much work to be done. The re-dating of the principal period of occupation by the community associated with depositing the Dead Sea Scrolls has forced much greater nuance concerning the history and make-up of the occupants of the site: they can no longer simply be identified with the *yahad*, since the *yahad* seems to be defined to some degree in compositions that most probably pre-date the site's community occupation.<sup>19</sup> And such refinement changes what might be supposed to have been the principal purposes of the site, since it cannot be where the core of the movement was established in the second century by a Teacher of Righteousness.

## 2.4. The Serakhim

The history of the discoveries has put certain compositions at the forefront of the discussion. If MMT had been discovered first, one wonders whether the parameters of the historical reconstruction of the movement would have been rather different, with less reliance on the Essene model. But it was the Cave 1 version of the Rule of the Community (Serekh Ha-Yahad) that appeared first and that

<sup>18</sup> On the archaeology of the Qumran site see now Dennis Mizzi, "Archaeology of Qumran", in *T&T Clark Companion to the Dead Sea Scrolls*, ed. George J. Brooke and Charlotte Hempel, London, T&T Clark, 2019, p. 17-36.

<sup>19</sup> See especially John J. Collins, *Beyond the Qumran Community: The Sectarian Movement of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, Grand Rapids, MI, Eerdmans, 2010.

has dominated the discourse in association with the classical descriptions of the Essenes. Three matters of comparison stand out. The first can be mentioned but briefly. When it was first read closely by Millar Burrows and his team, the Rule of the Community was given the name Manual of Discipline, comparing it generically with the kinds of Church rules and regulations to be found in some modern Protestant denominations. Of course, such labelling raises multiple questions about the assignation of generic labels to previously unknown compositions and what that does either to improve their understanding or to detract from it; there are multiple examples in the Qumran library of titles given to compositions that might now be deemed unsuitable upon further reflection. But as the proverb goes, “Give a dog a bad name” and it sticks. The comparison was acknowledged swiftly to be inapt.<sup>20</sup>

Second, in terms of contemporary models it has long been proposed that the voluntary associations of the Hellenistic world could provide some comparative heuristic parallel for what is present in the so-called sectarian texts.<sup>21</sup> The parallels are not precise, partly because in many instances the language of scriptural traditions, often adapted for new purposes, plays a significant part in the Scrolls, over against the technical terminology found in some of the literature associated with the classical voluntary associations. There is no straightforward adoption by the Qumran group or the movement of which it was a part of a foreign model of asso-

<sup>20</sup> On the problem of the naming of scrolls see especially Hindy Najman and Eibert J. C. Tigchelaar, “A Preparatory Study of Nomenclature and Text Designation in the Dead Sea Scrolls”, *RevQ* 26/3, 2014, p. 305-325.

<sup>21</sup> See Moshe Weinfeld, *The Organizational Pattern and the Penal Code of the Qumran Sect: A Comparison with Guilds and Religious Associations of the Hellenistic-Roman Period*, Göttingen, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1986; Matthias Klinghardt, “The Manual of Discipline in the Light of Statutes of Hellenistic Associations”, in *Methods of Investigation of the Dead Sea Scrolls and the Khirbet Qumran Site: Present Realities and Future Prospects*, ed. Michael O. Wise et al., *Annals of the New York Academy of Sciences* 722, New York, NY, New York Academy of Sciences, 1994, p. 251-270; Yonder Gillihan, *Civic Ideology, Organization, and Law in the Rule Scrolls: A Comparative Study of the Covenanters’ Sect and Contemporary Voluntary Associations in Political Context*, STDJ 97, Leiden, Brill, 2012; Benedikt Eckhardt, “The Yahad in the Context of Hellenistic Group Formation”, in *T&T Clark Companion to the Dead Sea Scrolls*, ed. George J. Brooke and Charlotte Hempel, London, T&T Clark, 2019, p. 86-96.

ciation, philosophical school, or civic guild. Nevertheless, Josephus's comparative association of the Essenes with the Pythagoreans is indicative that even in antiquity such comparison could bear weight. But, in the final analysis, the Cave 1 version of the Rule of the Community remains distinctive both in the way it begins not with prescriptions for membership but with a liturgy associated with the initiation of new members, and also in the way that it concludes not with a celebration of retirement from communal office but with a poetic reminder of human insignificance. This is a phenomenological comparison and a key question needs to be cleared at the first hurdle: is there a significant degree of basic similarity?

Third, a significant attempt at understanding the contents of the Rule of the Community and the *yahad* group that it seems to describe has been based on a resort to comparative modelling of a different sort. I refer to the use of the social sciences to describe the sect that seems to be responsible for the Rule of the Community and also for other constitutional compositions. The application of those models is not applied in any detail to the archaeological evidence, apart from some brief mentions in some instances of withdrawal into the wilderness. Most commonly applied have been the types of sect as developed over the years, especially by Bryan Wilson, with the Qumran group coming out most often in the category of "introversionist" with some reformist tendencies.<sup>22</sup> Such categories are based principally on the study of modern Christian sects and questions about their transferability to ancient groups in other religious traditions raises doubts about the comparative value of the stereotypes. Such categories are engaging the more they are related to the textual and other data provided in the ancient sources, as is reflected in the work of Jutta Jokiranta;<sup>23</sup> they are less engaging when taken as representative of more widespread, even universal types of human behavior, such as is a feature of the study of Eyal Regev and his comparison of groups such as the

<sup>22</sup> See, e.g., Bryan R. Wilson, *Religious Sects: A Sociological Study*, New York, NY, McGraw-Hill, 1970; idem, *The Social Dimensions of Sectarianism: Sects and New Religious Movements in Contemporary Society*, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1990.

<sup>23</sup> Jutta Jokiranta, *Social Identity and Sectarianism in the Qumran Movement*, STDJ 105, Leiden, Brill, 2012.

Amish with those reflected in the Scrolls from Qumran.<sup>24</sup> In the former application they function as heuristic tools; in the latter they offer more abstract patterns that have some descriptive rather than much analytical force.

## 2.5. The Pesharim

An interesting development has taken place recently in the study of the Pesharim, the sectarian biblical commentaries that variously engage with what are understood as unfulfilled scriptural oracles, prophecies, blessings, and curses. The most well-known form of the Pesharim are the running commentaries on extensive portions of the prophets or psalms. How should the move in the first century in this sectarian group towards such forms of explicit commentary be explained?

In 2012 the specialist Journal *Dead Sea Discoveries* produced a thematic issue devoted to the “Rise of Commentary”; it contained expert articles on ancient Near Eastern, Greek, Roman, and Jewish Commentary Texts.<sup>25</sup> In an introductory essay I tried to reflect on the comparative exercise that the reader was being asked to undertake, making observations on the advantages and disadvantages of diachronicity and synchronicity and taking advantage of the various expert essays to compile a set of issues that might assist in the better understanding of the Pesharim from the Qumran caves.<sup>26</sup>

In a previous generation the dominant comparison has been to notice that the identification of various features of the scriptural base text with particular items in the experience of the commentator’s community, even if those are voiced in a stereotypical way, has been to associate them with the kind of dream fulfilment that is described in the Book of Daniel, using a similar Aramaic term, and beyond that arguing that this has correspondences in earlier

<sup>24</sup> Eyal Regev, *Sectarianism in Qumran: A Cross-Cultural Perspective*, RelSoc 45, Berlin, de Gruyter, 2007.

<sup>25</sup> Mladen Popović, ed., *The Rise of Commentary: Commentary Texts in Ancient Near Eastern, Greek, Roman and Jewish Cultures*, DSD 19, 2012, p. 249–484.

<sup>26</sup> George J. Brooke, “Some Comments on Commentary”, DSD 19, 2012, p. 249–266.

traditions of interpretation as discernible in dream or omen interpretation in ancient Near Eastern texts. In the *Dead Sea Discoveries* special issue, it was other kinds of Akkadian commentary that were put into the mix with clear description of how there are extant copies of such commentaries not just from Assyrian times, but right down to the first century BCE.

However, rather than any kind of Near Eastern interpretative tradition, more recently a case has been made that the more appropriate basis of comparison is to be found in the earlier and contemporary Homeric commentaries, known from Alexandria and elsewhere. The appearance of explicit commentaries in both Greek and Latin tradition at about the same time as the composition of the Hebrew commentaries at Qumran prompted Markus Bockmuehl to produce a programmatic article in 2009 in which he challenged scholars to look to Hellenistic counterparts to the *Pesharim*.<sup>27</sup> His challenge has been taken up by Reinhard Kratz<sup>28</sup> and in particular detail by Barry Hartog who has noticed quite how close some of the interpretative techniques are in the two sets of literature as well as making the intriguing suggestion that the papyrus Commentary on Isaiah C shows evidence of the kinds of marginal markings used in the Greek Hypomnemata, the Scholia texts, several of which are preserved amongst the Oxyrynchus remains.<sup>29</sup> Despite his detailed comparative observations, Hartog resists the suggestion of any kind of direct literary dependence of the *Pesharim* on the Hypomnemata; he prefers to see both belonging to the same world of elite discourse and scribal practice. And that world was constituted of the well-travelled who would no doubt have interacted with one another in multi-lingual ways. It is precisely that

<sup>27</sup> Markus Bockmuehl, "The Dead Sea Scrolls and the Origins of Biblical Commentary", in *Text, Thought and Practice in Qumran and Early Christianity: Proceedings of the Ninth International Symposium of the Orion Center for the Study of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Associated Literature, 11-13 January, 2004*, ed. Ruth A. Clements and Daniel R. Schwartz, STDJ 84, Leiden, Brill, 2009, p. 3-29.

<sup>28</sup> Reinhard G. Kratz, "Text and Commentary: The *Pesharim* of Qumran in the Context of Hellenistic Scholarship", in *The Bible and Hellenism: Greek Influence on Jewish and Early Christian Literature*, ed. Thomas L. Thompson and Philippe Wajdenbaum, London, Routledge, 2014, p. 212-229.

<sup>29</sup> Pieter B. Hartog, *Pesher and Hypomnena: A Comparison of Two Commentary Traditions from the Hellenistic-Roman Period*, STDJ 121, Leiden, Brill, 2017.



kind of detailed and exact comparative scholarly work that needs to be undertaken for each genre of literature in the Qumran finds.

## 2.6. The Calendrical Texts: 4Q318

The calendrical texts from the Qumran caves are still very much under discussion. For an example of how comparative work might assist with the analysis of these texts, I refer to 4Q318 which has been labelled by some a calendrical brontologion, a composition to do especially with the divination of thunder; the term derives from Byzantine exemplars half a millennium later than Qumran, though they seem to have antecedents in the antique Levant.

The very influential study on 4Q318 was published by Michael Wise in 1994.<sup>30</sup> In it he argued with persuasive erudition that the reconstructed zodiac calendar in 4Q318 puts the start of the year in Taurus. If its author was a first century BCE Jew writing in Palestine, the implication of such an arrangement would be that the text was in some way a world history, a *thema mundi*. It was known that the ecliptic horizon moves back through approximately one zodiac sign every 2,000 years. The discovery of that so-called precession of the Zodiac was attributed to Hipparchus, a Greek philosopher and astronomer who lived in Asia Minor in the second century BCE. Thus, for Wise, within a century this technical knowledge had travelled to Palestine. The author of the calendrical chart in 4Q318 began with Taurus, because he calculated through known chronologies, including biblical generations, that the world had begun approximately 4000 years before his present in which the sun was rising in the sign of Pisces. Of course, another two thousand years on we are now in the age of Aquarius. The application of recently discovered knowledge, the basis of the comparison, which had travelled within a couple of generations the few hundred miles to Palestine seemed to put the comparison beyond doubt.

<sup>30</sup> Michael O. Wise, *Thunder in Gemini and Other Essays on the History, Language and Literature of Second Temple Palestine*, JSPSup 15, Sheffield, Sheffield Academic Press, 1994, p. 13-50.

However, further analysis by those fascinated with ancient astronomical calculations has shown that Wise's detailed calculations were not quite right, based as they were on assuming a year of 364 days rather than a year of 360 degrees and equivalent days. Rather, for a handful of German experts, the author of 4Q318 seemed to be reflecting the Babylonian system of calculations as known in the MUL.APIN, probably from the first half of the first millennium BCE. Those had coincidentally provided a description which begins with the Babylonian equivalent of Taurus. As a result, the view has been promoted that 4Q318 is more or less straightforwardly dependent upon Babylonian astronomical observations concerning lunar cycles, not on Hellenistic knowledge of zodiacal precession. It was that view which was adopted in 2000 in the principal edition of the manuscript, rather than the idea that 4Q318 was a *thema mundi*.<sup>31</sup>

All this comparison is based on certain assumptions about the state of astronomical scientific knowledge and its availability in various parts of the Levant. In addition, it depends upon arguing a suitable case for generic categorization, whether the text is a calendar, a *thema mundi*, a brontologion, or something else, or even a combination of items of differing genres. The more recent proposal of Helen Jacobus is that in Babylonian tradition there was an effective distinction between astronomical and astrological traditions, the former always being updated with the latest observations, the latter being highly schematic and largely stable.<sup>32</sup> For her, the calendrical section of 4Q318 reflects in a simplified manner knowledge of the Babylonian schematic dodekatemoria 360 degree presentations of the horoscope traditions; it has some accurate astronomical data and was possibly calibrated as it is for the year after an intercalation has taken place, but the overall purpose is to provide a stable frame of reference for horoscope analysis. Through her comparative work based on the precise analysis of the

<sup>31</sup> Jonas Greenfield and Michael Sokoloff, "318. 4QZodiology and Brontology ar", in *Qumran Cave 4.XXVI: Cryptic Texts and Miscellanea Part 1*, ed. Stephen Pfann, Philip S. Alexander et al., DJD 36, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 2000, p. 259-274.

<sup>32</sup> Helen R. Jacobus, *Zodiac Calendars in the Dead Sea Scrolls and Their Reception: Ancient Astronomy and Astrology in Early Judaism*, Institute of Jewish Studies Studies in Judaica 14, Leiden, Brill, 2015.

astronomical-astrological science reflected in the scroll as she understands it, she has also proposed that the text should be named consistently and more precisely as a Zodiac Calendar and Brontologion, accounting for its constituent parts and for it as a whole.

## 2.7. The New Testament

Study of the Dead Sea Scrolls and the New Testament has thrown up some of the most acute issues in comparative studies. There are broadly three kinds of approach to the relationship between the two literary corpora. First, there are those who acknowledge that indeed in the New Testament there are echoes of some of the ideas and phrasing now visible in the Scrolls, not least the sectarian ones, but who in the end stress and underline what is distinctive about Jesus and those who wrote about him and the significance of his death and resurrection. That is the approach of limited comparison; in some instances, one suspects that the limitations are in part a desire, possibly religiously motivated, to protect the distinctiveness of Jesus and the traditions about him. In this approach the differences far outweigh any similarities, which tend to be seen as coincidences that might be expected.

A second approach is much more vigorous in its comparison. Here are classic cases of readers, in my opinion (which is widely shared), of people mistaking similarities for sameness. The existence of two things that share several features does not necessarily make them the same. To have James, the brother of Jesus, called “just” in some Christian tradition does not entail that he must needs be identified with the Teacher of Right/Righteousness. Such a claim is not just restricted to a particular period or type of engagement with the Scrolls, but is somewhat surprisingly an ongoing concern with a few specialists, such as most recently Etienne Nodet of the *École biblique et archéologique française* in Jerusalem.<sup>33</sup> In this approach the strength of the similarities is read or over-read as things being identical and any conflicting evidence is

<sup>33</sup> Étienne Nodet, *La porte du ciel. Les esséniens et Qumrân: quelles origines? quelles postérités?*, Paris, Les Éditions du Cerf, 2016, p. 223-236.

glossed over or adjusted to agree with such identicalness. Here it is important to keep in mind that correlations may always have alternative explanations.<sup>34</sup> In fact it might even be suggested that the more similar two things seem to be, the more likely it is that they have arisen independently as common responses to similar phenomena, whereas some precise mark of parallelism, often much more limited, is a more likely indication of borrowing or literary dependence of some kind.

A third approach, which I have long supported myself, has been to try to be even-handed in noticing similarities and differences. The most significant result of such comparative even-handedness is the construction of an approach that gives attention to how the phenomena reflected in some of the Scrolls, especially the sectarian ones, and the phenomena reflected in some of the New Testament documents share certain characteristics which can be best explained through shared outlook rather than through direct literary dependence one way or the other, though that cannot be completely ruled out such as with the relationship between the text now preserved for us in 4Q521 and Luke 7:22-25. This is more than a vague assertion of *Zeitgeist*, of what was in the air; rather it is an appreciation that traditions of a certain kind, such as those with a messianic and eschatological purpose, are likely to depend on similar resources.<sup>35</sup> Working out the mechanics of the comparison matters.

## 2.8. The Copper Scroll

The Copper Scroll was found by archaeologists near the entrance to Cave 3 in 1952. Its two rolls were lying one almost on top of the other. The two rolls consist of three sheets of highly purified copper plate on each of which are inscribed four columns of writing making twelve columns in all. Eventually opened triumphantly in Manchester by being sawn into strips, its text is a list of sixty-four

<sup>34</sup> Weston, *A Rulebook for Arguments*, p. 32-33.

<sup>35</sup> See George J. Brooke, *The Dead Sea Scrolls and the New Testament*, London/Philadelphia, SPCK/Fortress Press, 2005.

locations where gold, silver, or other valuable items have been hidden. More recent work by Électricité de France (EDF) has resulted in its conservation and re-creation.

This document is highly distinctive in form and format, and in language and content. With what should it be compared in order for it to be best understood? The principal editor, Jozef T. Milik, decided that the quantities of precious metal were so great, on his understanding of them, that they could not be taken seriously. As a result, he was inclined to see the document as a fantasy with its chief comparator being the Egyptian Arabic Text, the *Book of Buried Pearls and Hidden Treasure* which Ahmed Bey Kamil published in Cairo in 1907,<sup>36</sup> a copy of which happened to be in the library at the École biblique in Jerusalem. The origins of the text are obscure, but in the principal edition of the Copper Scroll Milik cites long sections of it to show the general similarity of the lists in the two compositions.<sup>37</sup> But though associating the Copper Scroll's contents with an Arabic fantasy of the early Middle Ages might have put off some of those tempted to go and dig for treasure, few scholars have been convinced that such an approach fully explained why the text was engraved on expensive copper sheets apparently being nailed to a panel for display somewhere. Most are now inclined to view the treasure as real, a minority associating it in some way with the accumulated shared property of the members of the movement of which the Qumran community was a part, a majority associating it with the Temple in Jerusalem which also seems to have acted as a private bank. For those thinking of the treasure as real two tasks have been paramount, the first to rethink how the various weights and measures might be read and calculated, the second to search for something comparable, such as with Temple treasuries or with

<sup>36</sup> Kamal Ahmed Bey, ed., *Livre des perles enfouies et du mystère précieux au sujet des indications des cachettes, des trouvailles et des trésors*, Le Caire, Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale du Caire (IFAO), 1907.

<sup>37</sup> Jozef T. Milik, "Le Rouleau de cuivre provenant de la grotte 3Q (3Q15)", in *Les "Petites Grottes" de Qumrân*, ed. Maurice Baillet, Jozef T. Milik and Roland de Vaux, DJDJ 3, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1962, p. 211-302.

the use of metal plates for writing (small examples are common enough in Roman manumission texts).<sup>38</sup>

The Copper Scroll is an example of another text that has been subject to the problem of comparison that is proclaimed as sameness. For example, for Robert Feather the amounts of gold referred to in the Scroll seem to be matched in antiquity in the reign of Pharaoh Akenhaten whose name he finds represented in the Greek letters which feature against some items in the first four columns in the Scroll.<sup>39</sup> He offers no suitable explanation for those Greek letters that do not seem to fit his identification. His theory has proved irresistible only to those who commission television programs.

A subtler argument was put forward by Norman Golb. He argued that the distinctiveness of the Copper Scroll could only be explained by associating it with the Jerusalem Temple.<sup>40</sup> As such it strongly indicated to him that the whole collection of manuscripts in the caves at and near Qumran must come from the Temple and have nothing to do with the Qumran community or the wider movement of which it was a part. But should one extrapolate in this way from one highly distinctive scroll to draw conclusions about the whole set of deposits?

How should this composition be read? With what and how should it be compared?

### 3. Conclusion

Through this essay I have tried to illustrate various issues surrounding the nature of comparative studies as those can be discerned in the analysis of the Dead Sea Scrolls from the Qumran caves and in the description of the site itself. There is much more

<sup>38</sup> See George J. Brooke, "Introduction", in *Copper Scroll Studies*, ed. George J. Brooke and Philip R. Davies, JSPSup 40, London, Sheffield Academic Press, 2002, p. 1-9.

<sup>39</sup> Robert Feather, *The Copper Scroll Decoded: One Man's Search for the Fabulous Treasure of Ancient Egypt*, London, Thorsons, 1999.

<sup>40</sup> Norman Golb, *Who Wrote the Dead Sea Scrolls? The Search for the Secret of Qumran*, London/New York, NY, Michael O'Mara Books/Scribner, 1995, p. 117-150.

theoretical work to be done; and much also to be done in how comparative theory is best applied to the study of the Dead Sea Scrolls and their contexts. All descriptive terminology is analogical and its choice needs to be explained and justified. I have noted some of the issues that arise in comparisons which have a particular focus in relation to certain Dead Sea Scrolls. At the moment scholars are making attempts at the better understanding and appreciation of the Scrolls from very many different angles, places and times; it is very difficult to try to keep an overall perspective on what is going on and why. Some things are understood in the light of the East, some things make better sense from comparison with Egyptian Hellenism, some items reflect the transmission of knowledge from Asia Minor, others are juxtaposed with medieval manuscripts. How are controls to be constructed that will allow for justifiable comparative work?

As with the beloved in Shakespeare's Sonnet 18 some aspects of the Scrolls are understood better through comparison, while other matters in the end seem to have a notable distinctiveness which needs to be acknowledged. Shall I compare the Dead Sea Scrolls with a summer evening? The Scrolls and the context of their discovery are significant for many things; thinking about comparison gives them life and indicates how they are culturally complex—not what might be expected in a marginal disempowered minority group. If only scholars might see the overall significance of all the comparative work they have done, then the Scrolls will quickly re-emerge as of importance to the better understanding of what is taking place much more broadly at all levels of society and culture in the Palestine of Hillel and Jesus, and even beyond.

## A Tale of Two Collections

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### I.

My scholarly career has switched between the official Jewish Hebrew canon (conventionally called the “Hebrew Bible”) and the collection of writings found in the Qumran caves (“the Scrolls”), but I have increasingly felt that these two literary corpora should comprise a single field of enquiry, that they belong to the same set of problems, that what we learn from the one can often illuminate the other, and that we should study them in the same way and at the same time. This feeling has grown as our perception of both sets of writings has changed over the last 70 years. I discuss the official canon first. A major change has come about in the disappearance of so-called “biblical history”, which no longer provides the historian with a workable draft, and can no longer appeal to archaeology for confirmation. Competent historians now allow archaeology the primary role, and accept its verdict that the biblical narratives about the past are substantially fictitious. These writings do not belong to the time they write about, and their historical value needs rigorous interrogation. While many scholars still assign some compositions to the reign of Josiah and to the Babylonian exile, the weight of opinion is that the shaping, if not the initiation, of the canonized writings should be assigned primarily to the post-monarchic period, that is, post 722 BCE in Samaria/Israel and post 586 BCE in Judah. The contents of the “historiographical” texts, therefore, illuminate not the kingdoms of Israel and Judah

<sup>1</sup> Editors’ note: for further details concerning this essay and its posthumous publication, please refer to the Introduction to this volume.



(let alone an earlier period), but the history and characters of imperial provinces, and for the most part the province of Judah, from where the Prophets canon originates. During this long period, which we conventionally but again infelicitously term the “Second Temple period”, adherents of differing, often competing religious and political opinions were defining their own “Israel”, using various genres, including narratives about the past, prophetic denunciation and encouragement, and law codes. The “biblical period”, in the proper sense, has, anyway, now moved from monarchic to post-monarchic, and the “biblical” or “ancient” Israel has fragmented. But one dominant “Israel” emerged in the second century BCE under the name of “Judaism” and largely by means of conquest, but under this rubric of “Judaism” different religious beliefs and behaviors continued to coexist, until beyond the end of the Second Temple period. The conversion of scribal canons into a single “Jewish canon” helped to consolidate the process, but it did not define “Judaism” in any strict or orthodox sense: it reflected a variety of possible Judaisms. But it was accepted by various Jewish elements, and in different ways, as religiously authoritative. Not necessarily by all elements, however. How far these writings were directly known by the majority of the Jewish population is uncertain. That is because we only know what happened among the *literati*, the people who could read and write.

The scope of authorship has also been narrowed: the creation and transmission of the writings, entailing the development of canons, cannot be attributed to “Israelite society” as a whole and the contents of these writings are not a reliable portrait of a historical society. The texts—with perhaps one or two exceptions—derive from the scribal class, a social stratum occupied by palace and Temple retainers: the civil service, the intelligentsia. How far the texts themselves were directly known beyond literate circles is uncertain. Some scholars have found themselves driven to the conclusion that the authors of the texts were also their readers, that the canons comprise internal conversations and debates. That they were publicly read out to an illiterate population is for the most part unlikely. Literacy did grow into the classical period, and translation into Greek or even Aramaic certainly expanded the readership or audience. But it is unlikely, I suspect, that your average first

century CE Palestinian Jew could quote you much from the canon. That facility was reserved for the educated, who did not participate in the everyday activities of the majority of people, for whom literacy was worth very little.

I have argued elsewhere that the adoption of the canons of the scribal classes as a public Jewish canon was the work of the Hasmoneans, undertaken for cultural and political reasons, including prestige for the new kingdom, for the ancestral languages of Judah, and perhaps in the hope of contributing to a Jewish educational system to rival the Greek ones. Strictly, this canon comprises more than one collection. "Torah and Prophets" was a common name for the double canon, but some references mention other writings, and at Qumran there is a clear indication of a still fluid Davidic canon. The list of writing was closed, but the contents of some of the various books were not and the text was not immediately fixed. Later dates have been proposed for the introduction of the Jewish canon, but I can find no plausible agent with either the authority or motivation to establish, enforce, and close a "Jewish" canon. At all events, the establishment of a Jewish canon occurred quite close in time to the Qumran collection. Of course, the history of the writings themselves goes back to earlier times, and both Mosaic and prophetic canons were already established among the elites. But some of the Qumran writings also may originate from earlier than the Hasmonean period.

For the study of the Dead Sea Scrolls has also changed considerably, and in the opposite direction. Initially the scrolls (from Cave 1) were attributed to a small sectarian community living at Qumran. That assumption, incidentally, underlay the use of palaeography as a chronological index. The chronological limits for the composition, at least of the so-called "sectarian" texts were dictated by the dates of settlement at Qumran. Precise historical questions were set and answered: What sect was it? Who were the "Teacher", the "Wicked Priest", the "Liar", and all the other members of the cast? Since the publication of the Cave IV materials (which also confirmed the *Damascus Document* as belonging with this collection), and with growing disagreement over the archaeology of Qumran, this agenda and these assumptions have been discarded,

and the center of interest has shifted towards examining the history and relationships of the texts, which sometimes exist in multiple recensions, provide evidence of different communities, and comprise a wide range of genres, including both what biblical scholars loosely term “law” and “wisdom” and psalms, but also novel genres such as *pesharim*, astrological, horoscopic and calendrical compositions. It is now rather difficult (I have tried my hardest!) to arrange, say, the *halakhoth* of D, the historicizing interpretations of the *pesharim*, the variously developed light-darkness dualism of M and S, the wisdom texts with their mixture of instructional and mantic aspects, *Hodayot* and brontological-astrological materials into a coherent account of even two kinds of sect. If the owners of the collections were sectarians, they may well have collected or even written texts that were not of a sectarian character. But it is also theoretically possible that the owners were interested in sectarian texts but not sectarians themselves. Both alternatives assume the descriptions in D and S are fully realistic and not to some degree purely literary creations.

At any rate, it must now be considered that the Qumran manuscript collections (I think the plural may be more accurate) are the product of a longer timespan and a wider authorship than the older “Qumran community” perspective allowed. How far we do not know, but some manuscripts may go back to the third century. Like the official Hebrew canon, these collections offer important evidence of the processes by which Judaism developed in its numerous forms, including rabbinic, kabbalistic, gnostic, and Christian, and the kinds of issues that were characteristic of disputes about Jewish identity.

How do these collections relate to each other? If it is inappropriate to regard the Qumran texts as “post-biblical” because “biblical” is an anachronistic term, then the “post” is also unhelpful. The Qumran texts may not simply be “post” in either a chronological or an ideological sense. Of course some Qumran writings acknowledge the authority of the Mosaic torah, and possibly a Prophets canon. But the canonized writings did not necessarily cease evolving, and we should allow that the processes that belong to canonizing—of transmitting and editing texts and over again—also operated as these texts continued to be transmitted. I want to

explore whether the greater proximity of scriptural and Qumranic scribal activity can allow us to reevaluate the relationship between the collections in terms of continuity rather than rupture. We must not conceive of “canonizing” as anything but a long and gradual process, and even the institution of an official canon did not necessarily constitute a particularly significant moment. Samaritans had only a Mosaic canon, Sadducees reportedly also. Greek-speaking Jews seem to have continued to have a larger and open canon. “Canon” hardly carried the weight *id eos* now with evangelical Protestants, or even with the rabbis, who treated torah very seriously but took great liberties with all the rest.

## II.

Just before I suggest a few possible trajectories across the two literary corpora, let me introduce a research agenda that is pertinent to them both: empirical modelling. Several studies have been devoted to examining from concrete examples just how much and how often ancient Near Eastern scribes messed around with their texts.<sup>2</sup> An important conclusion of the Empirical Models approach is that the extent of scribal revision is so large that, if we do not have the actual texts of earlier versions, we cannot confidently reconstruct the history of any text purely from its latest form. Where scribal operations can be empirically detected from extant witnesses, it is often clear that conventional literary-critical methods would often not have been able to detect any intervention; and when they do detect it, they may not grasp the full extent. As in the case of forgeries, we only recognize in a text those less than perfect alterations that can be spotted, while more accomplished changes escape unsuspected. Empirical models suggest that, unlike inscriptions, there is no pristine literary text and no author: every

<sup>2</sup> Jeffrey H. Tigay (ed.), *Empirical Models for Biblical Criticism*, Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press, 1985; Juha Pakkala, Reinhard Müller and Baster Haar Romeny (eds), *Evidence of Editing: Growth and Change of Texts in the Hebrew Bible*, RBS 75, Atlanta, GA, Society of Biblical Literature, 2012; Raymond F. Person and Robert Rezetko, eds, *Empirical Models Challenging Biblical Criticism*, AIL 25, Atlanta, GA, SBL Press, 2016.

one is a garment repeatedly patched. Moreover, most of the time texts will have existed in more than one copy and/or version, so that we cannot assume a single chain of transmission. Simultaneous alterations to different copies must be allowed for as well. The evidence amassed for such conclusions includes the Gilgamesh epic, laws of Hammurabi, and (more surprisingly) the Assyrian royal annals. Among the biblical texts there is also plenty of evidence.

Empirical models suggest that editorial techniques evident in the transmission of texts including restructuring, omission, expansion, contraction, abbreviation, and replacement, often quite radical. The collection of sources into a unified composition by the first compiler of a text does not prevent these from continuing. But as a text acquires a certain status, one form of it can become adopted as a standard version and deviations from it will then be less acceptable. Yet this does not mean that as a general rule later scribes and authors are more reluctant to make changes. A further complication is the technique of harmonization among various manuscripts of the same text, which is a very sensible procedure within a scribal community in order to recover at least a temporary control over the proliferation of manuscripts of the same document. But what about harmonizations between texts, which can also occur? The combination of such techniques leaves the modern scholar, even if he works in Göttingen, with very little reliable indication of the complex history that has been undergone. For me the really important lesson is that a text can become canonical while still being quite radically altered. Indeed, it is perhaps *because* the text is regarded as canonical that it attracts frequent copying; and copying does not mean Xeroxing, but rewriting.

The Qumran texts, of course, afford empirical models of such habits. The Qumran Rules, D and M appear to have acquired a more or less coherent shape during the process of transmission, but quite probably not through the work of a single redactor but a continuous process of shaping and reshaping. They both seem to contain a large number of what we classify as “sources”. There are also smaller texts that may or may not have belonged, or been included, in some version of D or M at some point. S is different: it seems to have no coherent shape. It resembles rather a montage whose

parts hardly relate to each other—and where they do, the coherence may have been secondarily created. Some of the material pertains to an organization named *yahad*, but there is also a “Two Spirits” discourse that was either omitted in one recension or added in another: we cannot really be sure. But either way it does not matter. There is no apparent connection between children of light and *yahad*. The closing material, too, has no apparent link to a *yahad*. That different recensions remain side by side in the same cave suggests that different versions existed simultaneously either in different locations or even within a single location. What could either of these alternatives mean?

I am not sure that all of us, including me, are fully convinced of all the conclusions of the Empirical Models approach, but they are indeed empirical and they do constitute a useful warning against our current literary-critical practices. We have to balance the fact that the variations between the so-called “biblical manuscripts” at Qumran, and between the MT and ancient versions are by no means as radical as advocates of the Empirical Models approach argue (with the exception of Jeremiah, Esther, and Daniel). But we do know that the texts have undergone some radical revision at some point (perhaps the transformation of the Book of the Covenant into parts of Deuteronomy and into the Holiness Code; or Kings into Chronicles, or Ezra into 1 Esdras or vice-versa), and there is quite good evidence of major revision during the evolution of the Qumran rules texts. We also know how much the Qumran scribes, and the authors of Jubilees or the Temple Scroll messed with the Mosaic books. How do we understand the category of Qumran texts to which the name “Rewritten Bible” has been given? At the very least it is a plausible supposition that the transmitters of the Qumran texts, including texts also in the scriptural canon, continued the processes by which those scriptural texts had been produced. We must not be too ready with the word “midrash” when we do not have citation and comment clearly set out and separated. A process of continuous rewriting is how the canonical writings came into being in the first place.

### III.

It is possible, then, that certain texts crossed the line from the scribal canons that formed the official Jewish canon into the Qumran collections. But can we also consider themes, ideas, or beliefs that also crossed the line with them, creating new historical retrospects? I offer some possible examples from the opening sections of the Damascus Document. The first of these concerns the origins of a “new Israel”. The review in CD 1:1-12 opens with the aftermath of Nebuchadnezzar’s destruction, when a “remnant” of the old Israel was preserved. For a period of 390 years, a “period of wrath”, this remnant was punished<sup>3</sup>, but then they were visited, and after an initial period of “groping” a “Teacher of Righteousness” arrived. This version of the origins is curious in presenting a two-stage or even three-stage process: first the remnant is preserved, but nothing happens except that they are punished; then a visitation provokes penitence, and thereafter a “teacher” is sent. A good deal of scribal interference is evident here. Evidence of that is the longer and different narrative in CD 2:1-4:12. This first describes the entire history of rebellion from the appearance of the Watchers to the end of the “first covenant” when its members were put to the sword. Thereafter, the remnant is preserved and is shown by God his true law, including the “hidden things” in which Israel had gone astray, starting with Sabbaths and festivals, presumably meaning, essentially, a wrong calendar. The remnant then “dug a well” (meaning *torah*, *halakhah*).

In 6:7 there is a further collection of these beginnings: the digging of the well occurs with the mediation of a דרש התורה, “Interpreter of the Torah”. This figure is mentioned again in 7:18, still in the past, but curiously in relation to the fulfilment of the famous Balaam oracle of the star from Jacob. The “scepter from Israel” element of this oracle is interpreted, however, as a future “prince of the congregation”. It seems that Balaam is understood to predict one figure at the founding of the new Jacob/Israel, and the other at its final vindication, its eschatological salvation. In 4Q174 frgs. i-ii 1:11 (4Q*Florilegium*) the “Interpreter” is again associated with an

<sup>3</sup> This is how I now read the text (which is anyway likely to be a secondary expansion).

eschatological redeemer (the “Branch of David”), but this time both are future figures. Possibly the *Florilegium* is a deliberate re-writing of CD 7:18. Yet again, can we really know how much scribal messing around has taken place within and among these texts? But within D, it can at any rate be said that the Interpreter is a figure of the past, credited with the (re-)foundation of the remnant’s torah. In the opening discourse he has been omitted and a “Teacher” has been inserted—after a long interval. (I have given my explanation for this elsewhere.) At any rate, let us focus on the figure of the “Interpreter of the Law” whose role is appropriate to his title, the legislator of the remnant community, and who comes at the beginning of their story, right after the Exile.

Such a figure and such a role we can compare with scriptural accounts of the beginnings of a remnant, coming out of exile,<sup>4</sup> and yet regarding its present condition as a form of prolonged exile (the “period of wrath” in D), until the final realization of divine promise. This story is reflected in Enoch and Daniel, but more prominently—yet without the eschatological hope—in Ezra and Nehemiah (or Ezra-Nehemiah). Common to all the versions of this story of Israelite self-identity is a memory of the preceding period, D’s “covenant of the first ones”, as a record of failure, of sin leading to punishment. It is implied in some of these versions that those who adhere to this past remain mired in that sin. Elements of such a perspective are found in other texts. Whether Kings ends on a note of hope or despair for the “house of David” is still debated among scholars. Some of the scribes who transmitted Kings glorified David and Solomon: others included criticism of both. Such ambiguity seems to imply differing verdicts among the Second Temple elite over Judah’s monarchic past. Chronicles is also ambivalent: its scribes convert the dynastic “house of David” into the temple and assign David’s legacy as both ruler and temple patron to Cyrus and his successors. Zechariah transfers the role of the “anointed” from king to priest, who now wears the crown and is given the Davidic title of “branch”. Perhaps Kings is represented in

<sup>4</sup> The place of “exile” in Second Temple Jewish texts has been discussed already, in connection with Qumran, by Michael A. Knibb, “Exile in the Damascus Document”, *JSOT* 25, 1983, p. 99-117.



only 3 mss (4Q54, 5Q2 and 6Q4) and Chronicles only in 4Q118, because the owners of the Scrolls collections had little regard for this history. There was no glory in it: better forgotten, and certainly not to be restored.

The “Interpreter of the Law” is another Ezra or Nehemiah. But while Ezra-Nehemiah was once used fairly uncritically as a historical source and their heroes as having lived in the fifth century, thorough analyses of key elements<sup>5</sup> have exposed the stories of the two figures as complex productions, substantially from later than the 5<sup>th</sup> century and of dubious historical reliability. These studies give support to what I suggested in 1995,<sup>6</sup> that Ezra and Nehemiah should be understood as originally alternative, perhaps competing founders of a “new Israel”, representing distinct groups and/or interests from a later period. These groups were reconciled by combining their protagonists in a single book, embedding Ezra within the Nehemiah part, and so creating a chronology that has perplexed literal-minded commentators. Even so, the complex scribal interventions (more evidence of quite drastic scribal manipulation) in Ezra-Nehemiah have resulted in these founders being separated from the beginning of the “return” by seventy years or so, even though Nehemiah’s original placement is betrayed by his description of Jerusalem as how Nebuchadnezzar left it, despite the efforts of several generations of returners. The role of Nehemiah is as a political leader, the wall-builder of Jerusalem, a role expanded in 2 Maccabees to include library refounder and rekindler of the fire on the sacrificial altar (without Ezra!). In all respects he appears as a Hasmonean hero, reflecting that Judahite and Jerusalemite chauvinism that we find in Kings. Ezra is different, a religious refounder, a scribe and priest associated with the reestablishment of law and covenant. Both these figures personify the essence of

<sup>5</sup> Jacob W. Wright, *Rebuilding Identity: The Nehemiah Memoir and its Earliest Readers*, BZAW 348, Berlin, de Gruyter, 2004; Juha Pakkala, *Ezra the Scribe: The Development of Ezra 7-10 and Nehemia 8*, BZAW 347, Berlin, de Gruyter, 2004.

<sup>6</sup> Editors’ note: while Davies did not state in his original presentation the specific reference he had in mind here, among the studies he published in 1995 this argument can be found in Philip R. Davies, “Scenes from the Early History of Judaism”, in *The Triumph of Elohism: From Yahwisms to Judaisms*, ed. Diana Vikander Edelman, CBET 13, Kampen, Kok Pharos, 1995, p. 145-182.

what their different supporters understood as “Israel” or “Judaism”. Both Israels are remnants of exile. And, as Ezra’s prayer states it, the restoration of Israel is in every case unfinished: they are servants in their land (Daniel’s prayer makes the same point in speaking to both Babylonia and Judah). The “Interpreter of the Law” represents a third constituency within Second Temple Judaism, but one with the same story of preservation from exile but continued deprivation of a final restoration. Whether or not this is relevant, we do not find either Ezra or Nehemiah in the Qumran collections. The fragments of 4QEzra do not come from the Ezra part of the book, while the fragment of Nehemiah announced, but not published, by Thorleif Elgvin is apparently suspected as a forgery. These books told of rival remnants and leaders, of no interest to the keepers of the Qumran libraries.

My point is not that D, Ezra, and Nehemiah are all close in date, although they may well be, as well as close in date to parts of 1 Enoch and Daniel that reflect this same narrative of a remnant Israel. It is that they reflect an almost identical ideology and mechanism and need to be studied together as representing an important strand of Second Temple Jewish self-definition, as expressed by members of different constituencies. We cannot classify one as “sectarian” and not the others, unless we have a good reason, which I do not think we do.

My next example of a scriptural and Qumranic intersection is the calendar, an issue also raised in D’s narrative of origins in CD 3:13-14 where the covenant with the remnant reveals the true Sabbaths and festivals. The implication is that the old Israel did not follow the correct calendar, and allegiance to a calendar differing from that observed in Jerusalem is testified in many of the Scrolls. It comprises 30-days rather than lunar months and operates within the Enochic writings and Jubilees. Of all the silly ideas that Qumran scholarship has produced, the idea that this was an artificial sectarian invention is one of the silliest, as is the reason most commonly given, that it was unclear how intercalation took place. The Hebrew Bible, which mostly assumes a lunar calendar, does not tell us how that was intercalated, either. It is not a “sectarian” calendar, but one of at least two mainstream Second Temple Jewish calendars that the scriptures recognize. The two biblical and Jewish

New Year dates probably belong to each of these calendars, one in spring just before the Unleavened Bread and Passover festival complex, the other in autumn with *Sukkot* and *Kippurim*. The suggestion that the 30-day month calendar was in use during at least the early Second Temple period has been made already, e.g. by James VanderKam<sup>7</sup> and Philippe Guillaume<sup>8</sup> has more recently developed the argument for a “sabbatarian” calendar in the Priestly narrative.

The chronology of the Flood narrative assigned by source critics to P clearly includes 30-day months.<sup>9</sup> Whether or not we can bluntly say that the creators of the P material persistently espoused a 364-day calendar, we can conclude that some of them did, and the autumnal New Year was part of their great festival, while the spring New Year and Passover were preferred by D. Allegiance to two calendars seems a basic characteristic of Second Temple Judaism, and clearly continued to the end of the Second Temple period.<sup>10</sup> Again, why is this calendar “sectarian” in one collection but not in another?

My third example constitutes an even more profound trajectory between P, Enoch, and Qumran. *The Damascus Document* names, as the first of the sins after creation, the descent of the Watchers, and other Qumran texts explain the flood as a divine response to this and its outrageous consequences, as does the Enochic “Book of the Watchers”.<sup>11</sup> The consensus that this is a creative interpretation of Gen 6:1-4, which does not describe the angelic descent as a sin, but names the protagonists as heroes (חיל גברי, אנשי שם). The angelic

<sup>7</sup> James VanderKam, “The Origin, Character, and Early History of the 364-Day Calendar: A Reassessment of Jaubert’s Hypothesis”, *CBQ* 41, 1979, pp. 390-411.

<sup>8</sup> Philippe Guillaume, “Tracing the Origin of the Sabbatical Calendar in the Priestly Narrative (Genesis 1 to Joshua 5)”, *JHebS* 5, 2005, pp. 1-19, doi:10.5508/jhs.2005.v5.a13.

<sup>9</sup> I am also tempted to interpret the statement of Gen 1 that the sun rules the day and the moon the night as a sensible avoidance of a polemical calendrical dispute of the kind encountered in D and in 1 Enoch.

<sup>10</sup> It is possible that the “changing of times and seasons” by the last horn of the fourth beast in Dan 7:25 (Antiochus IV) signals an imposition of the Seleucid calendar, which may or may not have been reversed by the Hasmoneans. However, it may refer to the replacement of the Jewish festivals by the Seleucid ones (such as the king’s birthday).

<sup>11</sup> For discussion of the four main Qumran texts, see Jeremy D. Lyon, *Qumran Interpretation of the Genesis Flood*, Eugene, OR, Pickwick Publications, 2015.

descent, and the subsequent ravages of the gigantic offspring are also detached in Genesis from the Flood; the divine response to it is a shortening of lifespan. But I think that this consensus owes much to lazy assumptions that biblical texts are always earlier than pseudepigrapha and that emendation of scriptural texts ceased before the 3<sup>rd</sup> or 2<sup>nd</sup> centuries BCE. If we forget these assumptions, which are not sustainable, we can recognize that the scriptural account makes no sense and, although it bears the linguistic marks of the Yahwist strand, has no function in the Yahwist narrative. What the logic of that narrative requires is a sin that *explains* the Flood and this is explicitly what the passage *denies*. By contrast, while the Priestly narrative offers no explanation for the corruption of the earth that provokes the Flood, the covenant with Noah in Gen 9:1-7 concedes to humans the right to terrorize, kill, and eat animals, but not to shed human blood. These specific concessions suggest that for P the corruption that the Flood resolved was violence, bloodshed, and perhaps even cannibalism by the giants. Such items do not appear in the extant Genesis story, but they do in the Enochic version of the narrative, and it is reasonable to propose that the P strand of the Flood narrative once included this as the prelude to the Flood. An earth and a humanity created good (Gen 1) were undone from outside. I have explained elsewhere in detail why this episode would have been revised by a Yahwistic scribe: essentially it was to clean up the imputation of heavenly corruption and replace it with a story that blames humans for the origins of violence. As part of the same revision, Cain is written into the Yahwistic story as a substitute: he spills the blood of Abel, his ancestors bring to humanity, as the Watchers in Enoch did, various arts and technologies.

If this argumentation is not strong enough to establish that the Enochic Watchers story is also P's story, then I add the appearance of Azazel in the ritual of Leviticus 16, where again the majority of commentators are perplexed. But my argument gives the explanation: Azazel, the bringer of sin to the human world according to 1 Enoch, is imprisoned in the wilderness and every year becomes the recipient of those human sins for which he is ultimately responsible. In standing in for the scapegoat, Cain is banished to the wilderness, not to be killed, and complaining that his sin is "too great

for him to bear". But he also stands in for Azazel, the bringer of violence.<sup>12</sup> The view of human sin as ultimately of heavenly origin is not a sectarian innovation, for indeed it remains central to both Judaism and Christian mythology in the person of Satan. It was probably a majority view in ancient Judaism, along with the world of evil spirits that afflicted humans in so many ways. If anything is revisionist, it is the view that sin is nothing more than human transgression of Torah, a view we can associate with the Yahwist and Deuteronomist scribes. In fact the respective emphases of D and P on observation of divinely-sanctioned custom (*torah, mishpat*) and on cultic communication with heavenly powers as the basis of Israel's security and salvation fit with their respective mythologies of the origin of evil. Judaism and Christianity have inherited and combined both mythologies. In exhibiting concerns for adherence to the Mosaic torah and also the myth of the Watchers, the Scrolls are doing much the same: allowing both without reconciling the contradiction. Indeed, the only ancient writer we know of who confronted the contradiction was the one who left Genesis 1-4 in its present form.

#### IV.

Let me now sum up: we might think about the two literary collections, the Jewish canon and the Qumran manuscripts, as parts of an ongoing process, carried on by the same kinds of people and dealing with many of the same issues. This process naturally cultivates work that comes to be regarded as canonical within certain groups, among certain groups, and in the case of the official canon outside as well as inside those groups. We should consider that the owners and authors of Qumran texts recognized their own, broader canons, including a broader definition of the Mosaic canon as well as the Davidic canon. So what restrictions did the fact of an official Jewish canon impose, literarily or ideologically, on the various Judaisms that were being cultivated in the last two centuries

<sup>12</sup> The goat and the wicked ringleader of the angels are, of course, identified in the use of the name "Azazel": the goat is, as it were, already an incarnation of the evil angel.

of the Second Temple period? What consequences was the official recognition and closing of a Jewish canon supposed to create? It could not and did not establish a “normative Judaism”. Likewise, we need to discuss further what do the Qumran collections mean to those who created and who owned them. I have so far said nothing about the identity of these people. I suppose them to be a group that Josephus would have identified as “Essenes”, a major movement, about whose origins we know little or nothing, but who possibly dispersed into different kinds of communities like the Dissenting churches of the Early Modern period. The identification of those responsible for the Qumran collection is important mainly as a means of making us reconsider how we conceive what we call “early Judaism”. Part of examining the past is examining our own conceptions and assumptions about it.

# Why We Should be Looking for Ezra's Legacy in the Dead Sea Scrolls

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**Résumé.** Cette étude offre un nouvel examen du problème posé par la figure – mal attestée – d'Esdras dans les rouleaux de la Mer morte, dans le contexte plus large de l'histoire complexe de la réception d'Esdras et de Néhémie à l'époque du Second Temple. Les chercheurs débattent toujours la question de savoir si, et dans quelle mesure, une portion du livre d'Esdras remonte à une figure historique, et les dates proposées pour la rédaction de cette œuvre s'étendent de l'époque perse jusqu'à l'époque hasmonéenne. La recherche récente sur la figure du Maître de Justice à Qumrân a mis en question l'hypothèse d'un lien étroit entre cette figure et l'héritage littéraire remarquable que la recherche antérieure lui attribuait. Plutôt que de se concentrer exclusivement sur la singularité des figures d'Esdras et du Maître de Justice telles qu'elles émergent dans les textes qui nous sont parvenus, cette étude argumente en faveur de l'existence de cercles lettrés judéens versés dans l'étude de la loi, qui ont joué un rôle significatif à la fois dans la transmission des traditions associées à Esdras et dans le développement du mouvement qui a préservé et transmis les rouleaux de la Mer morte.

The dialogue between scholars working on Ezra and the Dead Sea Scrolls has not been effusive. Several factors have led to a reticence among all but a few scholars of both bodies of literature to appreciate the potential for a fruitful scholarly endeavor. Both Ezra and Nehemiah do feature, however, in a number of early studies on the

<sup>1</sup> I gratefully acknowledge the support for this research with the award of a Leadership Fellowship for a project on *Ezra's Legacy and the Dead Sea Scrolls: Law and Narratives of Exclusion* by the Arts and Humanities Research Council (AHRC). I benefitted greatly from discussions of an earlier version of this paper in Lausanne as well as at meetings of the Society for the Study of the Old Testament and at KU Leuven. Special thanks is owed to Professor Reinhard G. Kratz who generously read and commented on an early version of this paper. Any remaining shortcomings are my own.

Dead Sea Scrolls—effectively vying for the same job. In 1954 Isaac Rabinowitz suggested with some confidence that Nehemiah was a prominent figure in the Dead Sea Scrolls by identifying him with the movement’s so-called founder, the Teacher of Righteousness.<sup>2</sup> As for Ezra, Rabinowitz suggested he resembled the Interpreter of the Law spoken of in the Damascus Document (CD).<sup>3</sup> Two years later, in 1956, Theodor Herzl Gaster reviewed Rabinowitz’s proposal sympathetically but favored Ezra as the best candidate to be referred to by the epithet Teacher of Righteousness.<sup>4</sup>

In the following I will argue that despite the lack of the most obvious clues there is a great deal more to say on Ezra’s legacy in the Dead Sea Scrolls. We will begin, however, with noting a number of obstacles that might have discouraged such a prospect.

## 1. A Disinterest in the Return from Exile in the Dead Sea Scrolls

Only three small fragments of Ezra (covering material from Ezra 4:2-6, 9-11; 5:17-6:5)<sup>5</sup> and none of Nehemiah<sup>6</sup> were found at Qumran. Moreover, Mika Pajunen has offered a broader perspective on

<sup>2</sup> Isaac Rabinowitz, “A Reconsideration of ‘Damascus’ and ‘390 Years’ in the ‘Damascus’ (‘Zadokite’) Fragments”, *JBL* 73, 1954, p. 11-35, p. 15 nn. 11, 13.

<sup>3</sup> Rabinowitz, “A Reconsideration of ‘Damascus’”, p. 21 n. 49.

<sup>4</sup> Theodor H. Gaster, *The Scriptures of the Dead Sea Sect in English Translation*, London, Secker & Warburg, 1957, p. 108 n. 2.

<sup>5</sup> 4QEsr (4Q117) preserving parts of Ezra 4:2-6, 9-11; 5:17-6:5, cf. Eugene Ulrich, “117. 4QEzra”, in Eugene Ulrich et al., *Qumran Cave 4.11: Psalms to Chronicles*, DJD 16, Oxford, Clarendon, 2000, p. 291-293.

<sup>6</sup> The authenticity of a fragment owned by the Norwegian collector of antiquities Martin Schoyen once proposed to be a fragment of Nehemiah preserving parts of Neh 3:14-15 has been challenged convincingly, see Eibert Tigchelaar, “A Provisional List of Unprovenanced, Twenty-First Century Dead Sea Scrolls-Like Fragments”, *DSD* 24, 2017, p. 173-188; Eibert Tigchelaar, “Historical Origins of the Early Christian Concept of the Spirit. Perspectives from the Dead Sea Scrolls”, in *The Holy Spirit, Inspiration, and the Cultures of Antiquity*, ed. Jörg Frey and John R. Levison, Berlin, de Gruyter, 2017, p. 167-240; Kipp Davis et al., “Nine Dubious ‘Dead Sea Scrolls’ Fragments from the Twenty-First Century”, *DSD* 24, 2017, p. 189-228, esp. p. 221-225 on MS 5426. See also already Emile Puech, “Review: Armin Lange, *Handbuch der Textfunde vom Totem Meer*, Band 1: Die Handschriften biblischer



this picture by stressing how little has survived in the Dead Sea Scrolls of the books that narrate the national histories of Israel and Judah more generally. Thus, Pajunen observes,

[r]ather, the question is why all the “historical” writings as we know them today were neglected during the Second Temple period. If the manuscripts of the books of Samuel, Kings, Chronicles, Ezra and Nehemiah are counted together, they still make up less than 1% of the entire corpus of over 900 manuscripts.<sup>7</sup>

A restrained engagement with the emergence, heyday, and destruction of the kingdoms of Israel and Judah is mirrored by only passing references to the restoration of national fortunes under Persian rule<sup>8</sup> or, indeed, the Hasmoneans.<sup>9</sup> Attention is heaped instead on the pre-statehood narratives of the patriarchs, the wilderness generation, the giving of the Law, the voice of the latter prophets and eventually the emergence of a reform movement and its offshoots.<sup>10</sup>

Thus, it is often argued that the groups behind the non-biblical Scrolls show little interest in the achievements of the restoration generation in the broadest sense, including the contributions of Ezra and Nehemiah as described in the book that carries their names. With the remarkable exception of *Aprocryphon of Jeremiah<sup>c</sup>* (4Q390), a text to which we will turn to below, the construction of the Second Temple, let alone the subsequent activities of Ezra and Nehemiah, are side-lined along with the entire restoration period in key texts such as the Damascus Document (CD 1;

Bücher von Qumran und den anderen Fundorten”, *RevQ* 25, 2011, p. 155-156, p. 156.

<sup>7</sup> Mika Pajunen, “Bible”, in *T&T Clark Companion to the Dead Sea Scrolls*, ed. George J. Brooke and Charlotte Hempel, London, T&T Clark, 2018, p. 369-377.

<sup>8</sup> See especially CD 1 and Michael A. Knibb, “Exile in the Damascus Document”, *JST* 25, 1983, p. 99-117.

<sup>9</sup> An exception is a prayer that includes a reference to King Jonathan, probably a reference to the Hasmonean king Alexander Jannaeus, see Esther Eshel et al., “448. 4QApocryphal Psalm and Prayer”, in *Qumran Cave 4. VI: Poetical and Liturgical Texts: Part 1*, ed. Esther Eshel et al., DJD 11, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1998, p. 421.

<sup>10</sup> See George J. Brooke, *Reading the Dead Sea Scrolls: Essays in Method*, EJL 39, Atlanta, GA, SBL, 2013, esp. p. 175-192 and Pajunen, “Bible”.

4Q266 [D<sup>a</sup>] 2 i 6-16; 4Q268 [D<sup>c</sup>] 1:9-17).<sup>11</sup> We witness considerable interest in a transformed or eschatological Jerusalem and Temple (see especially New Jerusalem,<sup>12</sup> the Temple Scroll,<sup>13</sup> MMT<sup>14</sup>) while the remarkable turn in national fortunes brought about by the advent of Persian rule in the late 6<sup>th</sup> century BCE is passed over almost in silence. Rather, a number of Late Second Temple sources portray the next noteworthy event to follow the dire defeat by Nebuchadnezzar not as the reversal of Judean fortunes beginning with the reign of Cyrus in the 6<sup>th</sup> century BCE, but rather with the emergence of a reform movement in the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BCE (cf., e.g., the re-interpretation of Jeremiah's seventy years in Dan 9:24-27;<sup>15</sup> the Apocalypse of Weeks [1 En. 93:1-10 + 91:11-17]<sup>16</sup> from the Enochic

<sup>11</sup> See Charlotte Hempel, "Community Origins in the Damascus Document in the Light of Recent Scholarship", in *The Provo International Conference on the Dead Sea Scrolls: Technological Innovations, New Texts, and Reformulated Issues*, ed. Donald W. Parry and Eugene Ulrich, STDJ 30, Leiden, Brill, 1999, p. 316-329 (reprinted in Charlotte Hempel, *Qumran Rule Texts in Context: Collected Studies*, TSAJ 154, Tübingen, Mohr Siebeck, 2013, p. 65-78 with updated bibliography).

<sup>12</sup> See Michael Langlois, "New Jerusalem", in *T&T Clark Companion to the Dead Sea Scrolls*, ed. George J. Brooke and Charlotte Hempel, London, T&T Clark, 2018, p. 332-334 and Lorenzo DiTomasso, *The Dead Sea New Jerusalem Text: Contents and Contexts*, TSAJ 110, Tübingen, Mohr Siebeck, 2010.

<sup>13</sup> Sidnie White Crawford, *The Temple Scroll and Related Texts*, CQS 2, Sheffield, Sheffield Academic Press, 2000.

<sup>14</sup> Mila Ginsburskaya, "Jerusalem and the Temple", in *T&T Clark Companion to the Dead Sea Scrolls*, ed. George J. Brooke and Charlotte Hempel, London, T&T Clark, 2018, p. 505-512; Charlotte Hempel, "4QMMT in the Context of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Beyond", in *Qumran 4QMMT (4QMiqsat Ma'aseh ha-Torah): Some Precepts of the Law*, ed. Reinhard G. Kratz et al., SAPERE, Tübingen, Mohr Siebeck, forthcoming; John Kampen and Moshe J. Bernstein, eds., *Reading 4QMMT: New Perspectives on Qumran Law and History*, Atlanta, GA, Scholars Press, 1996; and Hanne von Weissenberg, "The Centrality of the Temple in 4QMMT", in *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Texts and Context*, ed. Charlotte Hempel, STDJ 90, Leiden, Brill, 2010, p. 293-305.

<sup>15</sup> See John J. Collins, *Daniel: A Commentary on the Book of Daniel*, Hermeneia, Minneapolis, MN, Fortress, 1993, p. 352-358.

<sup>16</sup> See George W. E. Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1: A Commentary on the Book of 1 Enoch, Chapters 1-36; 81-108*, Hermeneia, Minneapolis, MN, Fortress, 2001, 434-453; and Michael A. Knibb, *Jubilees and the Origins of the Qumran Community: An Inaugural Lecture Delivered on 17 January 1989*, London, King's College London, 1989.

corpus as well as CD 1<sup>17</sup>). As demonstrated in a paradigmatic essay by Michael Knibb the point of this rather audacious rewriting of the historical record was the theological argument that the exile came to an end at a much later time during which God bestowed divine favor on a Jewish reform movement.<sup>18</sup>

While it is undoubtedly true that the efforts of the restoration pioneers are passed over in silence in texts like CD 1, something comparable is also at work in Ezra-Nehemiah where the achievements of pioneers such as Sheshbazzar, Joshua, and Zerubbabel are overshadowed by the shift of focus, as the narrative progresses, on the activities of Ezra and Nehemiah.<sup>19</sup> This playing down to the point of silencing of pioneers in the Ezra narrative is striking. Several different models have been proposed for the literary growth of the book. According to Hugh Williamson, for instance, Ezra 1-6 goes back to a later stage in the growth of the book<sup>20</sup> whereas Rein-

<sup>17</sup> See Charlotte Hempel, "Community Origins in the Damascus Document in the Light of Recent Scholarship", in *The Provo International Conference on the Dead Sea Scrolls: Technological Innovations, New Texts, and Reformulated Issues*, ed. Donald W. Parry and Eugene Ulrich, STDJ 30, Leiden, Brill, 1999, p. 316-329 (reprinted in Hempel, *Qumran Rule Texts in Context*, p. 65-78 with updated bibliography) as well as Odil H. Steck, *Israel und das gewaltsame Geschick der Propheten: Untersuchungen zur Überlieferung des deuteronomistischen Geschichtsbildes im Alten Testament, Spätjudentum und Urchristentum*, Neukirchen-Vluyn, Neukirchener Verlag, 1967, p. 166.

<sup>18</sup> See Michael A. Knibb, "The Exile in the Literature of the Intertestamental Period", *Heyj* 17, 1976, p. 249-272 and Michael A. Knibb, "Exile in the Damascus Document", *JSOT* 25, 1983, p. 99-117. For recent, broader engagement with these issues see also James M. Scott, *Exile: Old Testament, Jewish, and Christian Perspectives*, JSJSup 56, Leiden, Brill, 1997 and James M. Scott, ed., *Exile: A Conversation with N. T. Wright*, Downers Grove, IL, InterVarsity Press, 2017.

<sup>19</sup> On the patchy evidence relating to these figure in Ezra-Nehemiah see also Reinhard G. Kratz, *Historisches und biblisches Israel*, Tübingen, Mohr Siebeck, 2013, p. 44.

<sup>20</sup> Hugh Williamson, *Ezra, Nehemiah*, WBC 16, Waco, TX, Word Books, 1985, p. xxxi, p. 89.

hard G. Kratz argued that Ezra 7-10 were added into an existing account of the building of the Temple as attested in Ezra 1-6.<sup>21</sup> On either view it is clear that the center of gravity has shifted in parts of the book that seem to go back to different phases in its growth.<sup>22</sup>

The situation is further complicated by the fact that a number of sources merge the events of the restoration led by Zerubbabel and Joshua with the activities of Nehemiah. Such a historical fusion has been observed by Peter Ackroyd—as reported by Michael Knibb—already within the biblical record which presents Ezra 7 immediately after Ezra 1-6 simply with “and after these things” as well as linking Ezra by way of the genealogy in Ezra 7:1 to Seraiah, the last chief priest of the First Temple (cf. 2 Kgs 25:18).<sup>23</sup> Even more striking is the presentation of Nehemiah as one who “built the temple and the altar” in 2 Macc 1:18.<sup>24</sup>

One might argue that the snub of the restoration period witnessed in CD 1 is of a different order from the downplaying of the contribution of Sheshbazzar, Joshua, and Zerubbabel in Ezra-Nehemiah, whose authors were likely much more sympathetic to the pioneers. It is striking, however, that the famous account of the origins of a reform movement in CD 1 passes over several generations of pioneers. On the one hand, we are struck by the airbrushing out of the return from the Babylonian exile and the rebuilding of the Second Temple. This is followed by what may be termed a revisionist account of the achievements of a more recent generation of pioneers, the pre-Teacher phase of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BCE reform movement. Instead the Damascus Document, mostly followed uncriti-

<sup>21</sup> Reinhard G. Kratz, *The Composition of the Narrative Books of the Old Testament*, trans. John Bowden, London, T&T Clark, 2005, p. 49-86. See also Jacob Wright, *Rebuilding Identity: The Nehemiah Memoir and Its Earliest Readers*, Berlin, de Gruyter, 2004.

<sup>22</sup> For a reading of Ezra-Nehemiah as a literary unity see Tamara C. Eskenazi, *In an Age of Prose: A Literary Approach to Ezra-Nehemiah*, Atlanta, GA, Scholars Press, 1988 and the response by David Clines, “The Force of the Text: A Response to Tamara C. Eskenazi’s ‘Ezra-Nehemiah: From Text to Actuality’”, in *Signs and Wonders: Biblical Texts in Literary Focus*, ed. J. Cheryl Exum, Semeia, Atlanta GA, Scholars Press, 1989, p. 199-215.

<sup>23</sup> Knibb, “Exile in the Literature of the Intertestamental Period”, p. 269 n. 66.

<sup>24</sup> Knibb, “Exile in the Literature of the Intertestamental Period”, p. 257 n. 16.

cally by scholars, credits a teacher of righteousness with giving direction to an existing movement who were like the blind groping for the way for twenty years, and reads as follows:

1:3 For when they acted unfaithfully in that they forsook him he hid his face from Israel and from his sanctuary 1:4 and gave them over to the sword. But when he remembered the covenant with the ancestors he left a remnant 1:5 for Israel and did not give them over to annihilation. And in the time of wrath—three hundred 1:6 and ninety years after he had given them into the hand of Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon—1:7 he visited them and caused a root of planting to grow from Israel and from Aaron to take possession of 1:8 his land and to grow fat on the goodness of his soil. They considered their sin and knew that 1:9 they were guilty. But they were like the blind and like those who grope for the way 1:10 for twenty years. And God considered their deeds for they sought him with a whole heart. 1:11a And he raised for them a teacher of righteousness to lead them in the way of his heart.<sup>25</sup>

Given the chance of an exclusive interview with key representatives of this pre-Teacher reform movement, we might, as I have argued elsewhere, hear a different story—one of a self-confident reform movement reminiscent of those described in 1 En. 93:10 and Jub. 1.<sup>26</sup> I have suggested elsewhere that traces of a “teacher-free” account of community origins can be identified in CD 2 (lines 8b-9a, 11-13).<sup>27</sup> On my reading of CD 1 what we find there is a down-playing of the attainments of the pioneers at a major turning point in the early history of the movement for the sake of enhancing the significance of a group of *arrivistes*. A comparable flattening of a pioneer is also attested in the New Testament in the portrayal of the relationship of John the Baptist to Jesus.<sup>28</sup> In short, in addition to

<sup>25</sup> Translation my own.

<sup>26</sup> See James C. VanderKam, “Exile in Jewish Apocalyptic Literature”, in James M. Scott, ed., *Exile: Old Testament, Jewish, and Christian*, p. 89-109.

<sup>27</sup> See Hempel, *Qumran Rule Texts in Context*, p. 4-5, p. 65-78.

<sup>28</sup> See, e.g., John P. Meier, *Mentor, Message, and Miracles*, vol. 2 of *A Marginal Jew: Rethinking the Historical Jesus*, ABRL, New York, NY, Doubleday, 1994 and Joan E. Taylor, *The Immerser: John the Baptist Within Second Temple Judaism*, Grand Rapids, MI, Eerdmans, 1997.

the well-known silencing of the restoration period and the figures associated with it in CD 1, the same passage also downplays the achievements of the members of the earlier reform movement who paved the way for the arrival of the Teacher and his followers. In other words, the famous account of community origins in the Damascus Document is, on my reading of it, doubly revisionist: once by neglecting to mention the return and rebuilding of the Second Temple, and a second time by downplaying the pioneers of the seminal reform movement. Scholars have been quick to note the former but—dazzled by the charismatic portrayal of the teacher—paid little attention to the way a doubtlessly seminal reform movement is written into the shadows of historiography.<sup>29</sup>

<sup>29</sup> For recent nuanced research on the Teacher of Righteousness see, e.g., George J. Brooke, “The ‘Apocalyptic’ Community, the Matrix of the Teacher and Rewriting Scripture”, in *Authoritative Scriptures in Ancient Judaism*, ed. Mladen Popović, JSJSup 141, Leiden, Brill, 2010, p. 37-53; Florentino García Martínez, “Beyond the Sectarian Divide: The ‘Voice of the Teacher’ as an Authority-Confering Strategy in Some Qumran Texts”, in *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Transmission of Traditions and Production of Texts*, ed. Sarianna Metso, Hindy Najman and Eileen Schuller, STDJ 92, Leiden, Brill, 2010, p. 227-244; Maxine Grossman, “Roland Barthes and the Teacher of Righteousness: The Death of the Author of the Dead Sea Scrolls”, in *The Oxford Handbook of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, ed. Timothy Lim and John J. Collins, Oxford, OUP, 2010, p. 709-722; Angela Kim Harkins, “Who is the Teacher of the Teacher Hymns? Re-Examining the Teacher Hymns Hypothesis Fifty Years Later”, in *A Teacher for All Generations: Essays in Honor of James C. VanderKam*, ed. Eric Mason et al., JSJSup 153, Leiden, Brill, 2012, p. 449-467; Jutta Jokiranta, “Qumran – The Prototypical Teacher in the Qumran Pesharim: A Social-Identity Approach”, in *Ancient Israel: The Old Testament in Its Social Context*, ed. Philip F. Esler, Minneapolis, MN, Fortress, 2006, p. 254-263; Michael A. Knibb, “Teacher of Righteousness”, in *Encyclopedia of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, ed. Lawrence H. Schiffman and James C. VanderKam, New York, NY, Oxford University Press, 2000, 2:918-921; and Loren T. Stuckenbruck, “The Legacy of the Teacher of Righteousness in the Dead Sea Scrolls”, in *New Perspectives on Old Texts: Proceedings of the Tenth International Symposium of the Orion Center for the Study of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Associated Literature, 9-11 January, 2005*, ed. Esther G. Chazon, Betsy Halpern-Amaru and Ruth A. Clements, STDJ 88, Leiden, Brill, 2010, p. 23-49 and Loren T. Stuckenbruck, “The Teacher of Righteousness Remembered: From Fragmentary Sources to Collective Memory in the Dead Sea Scrolls”, in *Memory in the Bible and Antiquity: The Fifth Durham-Tübingen Research Symposium (Durham, September 2004)*, ed. Stephen Barton, Loren T. Stuckenbruck and Benjamin Wold, WUNT 212, Tübingen, Mohr Siebeck, 2007, p. 75-94. See further n. 52 below.

An exceptional account of the restoration is found in a document identified as Apocryphon of Jeremiah C<sup>e</sup>. Two of the seven manuscripts identified by Dimant as copies of the Apocryphon refer to the prophet Jeremiah, and the composition has been identified by its editor, Devorah Dimant, as a divine address to Jeremiah.<sup>30</sup> According to Dimant the Apocryphon contained “a full historical review from Biblical times through the Second Temple period to the eschatological era”.<sup>31</sup> 4Q390 lines 4-7a refers to the restoration in terms that present the period as a time of short-lived promise sandwiched between episodes of disobedience at either end:

And they too will do what is evil in my eyes, like all that which the Israelites had done in the former days of their kingdom, except those who will come<sup>32</sup> first from the land of their captivity to build the Temple. And I shall speak to them and I shall send them commandments, and they will understand everything which they and their fathers had abandoned.<sup>33</sup>

This explicit reference to the return from captivity during the Babylonian exile is conspicuous as it constitutes a singular reference to the restoration period in the Dead Sea Scrolls where this turning point is frequently passed over.<sup>34</sup>

Having nuanced and contextualized the paradigmatic narrative of the disinterest in the restoration period in the Dead Sea Scrolls

<sup>30</sup> Devorah Dimant, *Qumran Cave 4. 21. Parabiblical Texts, Part 4: Pseudo-Prophetic Texts*, DJD 30, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 2001, p. 91-116 and 4Q385a 18 i-ii and 4Q389 1. For a cautious assessment of the nomenclature used in DJD 30 and elsewhere see Hindy Najman and Eibert Tigchelaar, “A Preparatory Study of Nomenclature and Text Designation in the Dead Sea Scrolls”, *RevQ* 26, 2014, p. 305-325. See further Eibert Tigchelaar, “Jeremiah’s Scriptures in the Dead Sea Scrolls and the Growth of a Tradition”, in *Jeremiah’s Scriptures: Production, Reception, Interaction, and Transformation*, ed. Hindy Najman and Konrad Schmid, JSJSup 173, Leiden, Brill, 2017, p. 289-306.

<sup>31</sup> Dimant, *Qumran Cave 4. 21*, p. 99.

<sup>32</sup> The participle העולים can also be translated “who came up”.

<sup>33</sup> Translation Dimant, *Qumran Cave 4. 21*, p. 238.

<sup>34</sup> For a comprehensive analysis that draws out nuanced development between different strands of the Apocryphon see Kipp Davis, *The Cave 4 Apocryphon of Jeremiah and the Qumran Jeremianic Traditions*, STDJ 111, Leiden, Brill, 2014.

by noting a downplaying of the achievements of the restoration pioneers already in Ezra-Nehemiah I will now turn to the choppy reception record of the attainments of Ezra and Nehemiah in ancient sources beyond the Dead Sea Scrolls.

## **2. The Scrolls as Another Ripple in the Choppy Waters of the Ancient Reception of Ezra and Nehemiah**

It is equally constructive to contextualize the radio silence about the accomplishments of Ezra and Nehemiah in the Dead Sea Scrolls within the complex ancient reception of both figures. I would like to suggest that not too much ought to be made of the lack of references to the figures of Ezra and Nehemiah in the writings produced and transmitted by the Qumran movement since our access to both figures—literary and historical—is marred by a long and complex composition history both in the Masoretic Text, the Septuagint, and beyond.<sup>35</sup> The complexity of the evidence has given rise to scholarly hypotheses of Ezra material having been added to the Nehemiah material,<sup>36</sup> and vice versa of the Nehemiah Memoir having been omitted from the account of 1 Esdras.<sup>37</sup> There is certainly no general agreement on either of these illustrative scenarios.<sup>38</sup> As Williamson has put it, we are faced with a picture of a “somewhat ambivalent attitude to his [Ezra’s] achievements”<sup>39</sup> as indicated by his absence in Ben Sira’s praise of the fathers in Sir 49:11-13 which

<sup>35</sup> See Lisbeth S. Fried, *Ezra and the Law in History and Tradition*, Columbia, SC, University of Carolina Press, 2014 and Lena Tiemyer, *Ezra-Nehemiah: Israel’s Quest for Identity*, London, Bloomsbury T&T Clark, 2017.

<sup>36</sup> Kratz, *Narrative Books of the Old Testament*, p. 49-86 and Wright, *Rebuilding Identity*.

<sup>37</sup> See, e.g., Jacob L. Wright, “Remember Nehemiah: 1 Esdras and the *Damnatio Memoriae Nehemiae*”, in *Was 1 Esdras First? An Investigation into the Priority and Nature of 1 Esdras*, ed. Lisbeth S. Fried, AIL 7, Atlanta, GA, SBL, 2011, p. 145-163.

<sup>38</sup> See Williamson, *Ezra, Nehemiah*, p. xlvi: “The possibility must therefore be investigated that Ezra’s later reputation owes as much to the present literary presentation of his role as to his actual historical success”.

<sup>39</sup> Williamson, *Ezra, Nehemiah*, p. xlvi.



mentions only Zerubbabel, Jeshua, and Nehemiah.<sup>40</sup> Peter Höffken reviews a raft of positions on this, and concludes that disagreements between the authors of Ben Sira and Ezra on the Levites (towards whom Ben Sira was not well disposed) and the more pronounced eschatological dimension of Ben Sira's theocratic vision explain the absence of Ezra in Sir 49<sup>41</sup> and, as we saw above, from 2 Maccabees. Some, like John Emerton, have argued that not too much ought to be made of Ezra's absence in Ben Sira 49:11-13 which in context is concerned with the contributions of those who (re)built altar, temple, and wall.<sup>42</sup> Others have suggested that the book or narrative about Ezra was not in existence at the time of Ben Sira<sup>43</sup> or that it was not yet widely known.<sup>44</sup> In contrast to the passing over of Ezra in Sir 49 and 2 Maccabees, the Ezra pseudepigrapha<sup>45</sup> and later Judaism reflect his increasing prominence.<sup>46</sup> In light of all this, the evidence of the Qumran materials, rather than being exceptional, is no more than another ripple in the very

<sup>40</sup> See Patrick W. Skehan and Alexander A. DiLella, *The Wisdom of Ben Sira: A New Translation with Notes*, AB 39, New York, Doubleday, 1987, p. 540-545; Myers, *Ezra-Nehemiah*, p. lxxii-lxxiv; and Norbert Peters, *Das Buch Jesus Sirach oder Ecclesiasticus übersetzt und erklärt*, Münster, Aschendorff, 1913, p. 422.

<sup>41</sup> Peter Höffken, "Warum schwieg Jesus Sirach über Esra?", *ZAW* 87, 1975, p. 184-202.

<sup>42</sup> John Emerton, "Review of Kellermann, *Nehemia: Quellen, Überlieferung und Geschichte*", *JTS* 23, 1972, p. 171-185, p. 185.

<sup>43</sup> Gustav Jahn, *Die Bücher Esra (A und B) und Nehemja: Text-kritisch und historisch-kritisch untersucht mit Erklärung der einschlägigen Prophetenstellen und einem Anhang über hebräische Eigennamen*, Leiden, Brill, 1909, p. v.

<sup>44</sup> Reinhard G. Kratz, "Ezra – Priest and Scribe", in *Scribes, Sages, and Seers: The Sage in the Eastern Mediterranean World*, Göttingen, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2008, p. 163-188, p. 179 n. 48.

<sup>45</sup> See, e.g., Fried, *Ezra and the Law*; Hindy Najman, *Past Renewals: Interpretive Authority, Renewed Revelation and the Quest for Perfection in Jewish Antiquity*, JSJSup 53, Leiden, Brill, 2010, p. 235-242; Robert A. Kraft, "'Ezra' Materials in Judaism and Christianity", in *Exploring the Scripturesque: Jewish Texts and Their Christian Contexts*, JSJSup 137, Leiden, Brill, 2009, p. 129-147; Kratz, "Ezra—Priest and Scribe"; and Michael E. Stone, *Fourth Ezra: A Commentary on the Book of Fourth Ezra*, Hermeneia, Minneapolis, MN, Fortress, 1990.

<sup>46</sup> Kratz, "Ezra – Priest and Scribe" and Gary G. Porton, "Ezra in Rabbinic Literature", in *Restoration: Old Testament, Jewish and Christian Perspectives*, ed. James M. Scott, JSJSup 72, Leiden, Brill, 2001, p. 305-333.

choppy compositional and reception history of the literary footprints of Ezra and Nehemiah. This might point either to an ambivalent assessment of Ezra's legacy, a "snub" if you like, or suggest a more limited reach of the ancient profile of Ezra in the Second Temple period.

### 3. The Scrolls and their Tradents are Bigger than Qumran

Another factor that has undoubtedly played a major role in making scholars hesitant to attempt to relate the movement described in the Scrolls to the account of the mission of Ezra has to do with the publication history of the Scrolls and the subsequent directions of their scholarly assessment. In particular the well preserved manuscript from Qumran Cave 1 of a text like the Community Rule was very much read as a sectarian text permitting access to the thought and organization of a segregated and isolationist group residing at the nearby site of Khirbet Qumran.<sup>47</sup> A short quotation from Hugh Williamson's rebuttal of the suggestion by Houtman that Ezra's law book was the Temple Scroll may suffice as representative of the former approach.

[A]fter all, we are not dealing [in Ezra-Nehemiah, C. H.] with a breakaway group, like the people of Qumran.<sup>48</sup>

A formative influence on this assessment was Josephus's description of three Jewish schools of thought (see *J.W.* 2.8.2-13; and *Ant.* 18.1.5 on the Essenes)—something already noted by Morton

<sup>47</sup> See, e.g., John J. Collins, *Beyond the Qumran Community: The Sectarian Movement of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, Grand Rapids, MI, Eerdmans, 2010; Torleif Elgvin, "The Yahad is More than Qumran", in *Enoch and Qumran Origins: New Light on a Forgotten Connection*, ed. Gabriele Boccaccini et al., Grand Rapids, MI, Eerdmans, 2005, p. 273-279; Charlotte Hempel, "Qumran Communities: Beyond the Fringes of Second Temple Society", in *The Scrolls and the Scriptures: Qumran Fifty Years After*, ed. Stanley Porter and Craig Evans, JSPSup 26, Sheffield, Sheffield Academic Press, 2003, p. 43-53 and Hempel, *Qumran Rule Texts in Context*, p. 8-9, p. 20-21.

<sup>48</sup> Williamson, *Ezra, Nehemiah*, p. xxxviii.

Smith.<sup>49</sup> The publication of the full corpus, the revised dating of the communal occupation of the site to the early 1<sup>st</sup> century BCE,<sup>50</sup> and the concomitant changes of perspective in the scholarly debate have meant that we are now in a different place. Sticking for a moment with the Community Rule, we now have ten additional copies and, at times, divergent manuscripts from Cave 4 that cannot all have functioned as alternative constitutions for life at the site of Qumran—which in any case was barely occupied by the time this complex composition, especially as represented by 1QS (100-75 BCE), had already evolved in important ways.<sup>51</sup>

<sup>49</sup> Morton Smith, "The Dead Sea Scrolls in Relation to Ancient Judaism", *NTS* 7, 1960, p. 347-360, esp. p. 349-350. On the relationship of the Essenes to the Dead Sea Scrolls see Todd S. Beall, *Josephus' Description of the Essenes Illustrated by the Dead Sea Scrolls*, SNTSMS 58, Cambridge, CUP, 1988; Roland Bergmeier, *Die Essenerberichte des Flavius Josephus: Quellenstudien zu den Essenertexten im Werk des jüdischen Historiographen*, Kampen, Kok Pharos, 1993; Collins, *Beyond the Qumran Community*, p. 122-165; Alison Schofield, *From Qumran to the Yahad: A New Paradigm of Textual Development for the Community Rule*, STDJ 77, Leiden, Brill, 2009, p. 191-209; Charlotte Hempel, "The Essenes", in *Religious Diversity in the Graeco-Roman World: A Survey of Recent Scholarship*, ed. Dan Cohn-Sherbok and John M. Court, Sheffield, Sheffield Academic Press, 2001, p. 65-80; and Joan E. Taylor, *The Essenes, the Scrolls, and the Dead Sea*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2012.

<sup>50</sup> See Jodi Magness, *The Archaeology of Qumran and the Dead Sea Scrolls*, Grand Rapids, MI, Eerdmans, 2002, p. 47-72 and Dennis Mizzi, "Qumran Period I Reconsidered: An Evaluation of Several Competing Theories", *DSD* 22, 2014, p. 1-42.

<sup>51</sup> On the palaeography of 1QS, 4QS, and the Dead Sea Scrolls more broadly see Frank M. Cross, "The Development of the Jewish Scripts", in *The Bible and the Ancient Near East: Essays in Honor of William Foxwell Albright*, ed. G. E. Wright, London, Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1961, p. 133-202; Cross, *The Ancient Library of Qumran*, 3<sup>rd</sup> ed., Sheffield/Minneapolis, Sheffield Academic Press/Fortress, 1995, p. 170-174; Frank M. Cross, "Paleography", in *Encyclopedia of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, ed. L. H. Schiffman and J. C. VanderKam, New York, NY, Oxford University Press, 2000, 2:629-634; Frank M. Cross, "Appendix F", in J. H. Charlesworth et al., *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Hebrew, Aramaic, and Greek Texts with English Translations. Volume 1: Rule of the Community and Related Documents*, PTS/DSSP 1, Louisville, KY/Tübingen, Westminster John Knox Press/Mohr Siebeck, 1994, p. 57; Józef T. Milik, "Le travail d'édition des fragments manuscrits de Qumran", *RB* 63, 1956, p. 49-67, p. 61; Emile Puech, "L'alphabet cryptique A en 4QSe (4Q259)", *RevQ* 18, 1998, p. 429-435, p. 433-435; and Eibert Tigchelaar, "The Scribe of 1QS", in *Emanuel: Studies in Hebrew Bible, Septuagint, and the Dead Sea Scrolls in Honor of Emanuel Tov*, ed. Shalom M. Paul et al., VTSup 94, Leiden, Brill, 2003, p. 439-452. On the complex literary development of the Rule see, e.g., Philip S. Alexander, "The Redaction-History of Serekh ha-Yahad:

We also note a move away from the pan-Teacherism of the first decades of Qumran research when the Teacher of Righteousness was associated with almost every significant event and text in the corpus of the non-biblical Scrolls.<sup>52</sup> Taking into account the flood of new texts from Cave 4 it is noteworthy that the Teacher appears only in the final form of the Admonition of the Damascus Document and the 1<sup>st</sup> century CE pesharim. Both the title Teacher of Righteousness and the chronological scheme promoted in CD 1 are the result of the interpretation of prophecy (see especially Isa 30:20 and Hos 10:12 for the former and Ezek 4:5 for the latter).<sup>53</sup> At the same time, the publication of ten additional Qumran manuscripts of the Damascus Document (4Q266-273, 5Q12, 6Q15) leave no doubt that legal exposition makes up a major proportion of this composition, which never refers to the Teacher in the extensively preserved legal material.<sup>54</sup> We note, nevertheless, that the movement behind the text was associated with the reception of a large component of ancient Jewish law. Given the Teacher is at least literarily closely allied with that movement, we acknowledge a connection

A Proposal", *RevQ* 17, 1996, p. 437-453; Hempel, *Qumran Rule Texts in Context*, p. 109-119, p. 137-150; Hempel, "The Long Text of the Serekh as Crisis Literature", *RevQ* 27, 2015, p. 3-24; Michael A. Knibb, "Rule of the Community", in *Encyclopedia of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 2:793-797; and Sarianna Metso, *The Textual Development of the Qumran Community Rule*, STDJ 21, Leiden, Brill, 1997.

<sup>52</sup> See Hempel, *Qumran Rule Texts in Context*, p. 4-5 and note 29 above and most recently Philip R. Davies, "Historiography", in *T&T Clark Companion to the Dead Sea Scrolls*, ed. George J. Brooke and Charlotte Hempel, London, T&T Clark, 2018, p. 228-236; Angela K. Harkins, "How Should We Feel About the Teacher of Righteousness?", in *Is There a Text in this Cave? Studies in the Textuality of the Dead Sea Scrolls in Honour of George J. Brooke*, ed. Ariel Feldman, Maria Cioată, and Charlotte Hempel, STDJ 118, Leiden, Brill, 2017, p. 493-514 and Reinhard G. Kratz, "The Teacher of Righteousness and His Enemies", in *Is There a Text in this Cave? Studies in the Textuality of the Dead Sea Scrolls in Honour of George J. Brooke*, ed. Ariel Feldman, Maria Cioată, and Charlotte Hempel, STDJ 118, Leiden, Brill, 2017, p. 515-532.

<sup>53</sup> See Jonathan G. Campbell, *The Use of Scripture in the Damascus Document*, esp. p. 49-67. See also Brooke, "The 'Apocalyptic' Community" and García Martínez, "Beyond the Sectarian Divide".

<sup>54</sup> See Liora Goldman, "Damascus Document (D)", in *T&T Clark Companion to the Dead Sea Scrolls*, ed. George J. Brooke and Charlotte Hempel, London, T&T Clark, 2018, p. 306-309 and Charlotte Hempel, *The Damascus Texts*, CQS 1, Sheffield, Sheffield Academic Press, 2000.

also of the Teacher to the legal material at least on the level of the presentation in the Damascus Document.

Nuanced recent research on the profile and significance of the Teacher, which we may call the “New Quest”, suggests that as our confidence in having access to the historical teacher recedes, his portrayal in the literature exposes the circles who built up his profile and were keen to exploit an association with him for their own ends.<sup>55</sup> As I hope to show below, something rather comparable is at work in the Ezra material also.<sup>56</sup>

#### 4. Previous Research on the Relationship of Ezra-Nehemiah and the Dead Sea Scrolls

While we have not done much more than scratch the surface in exploiting the mutual illumination of Ezra-Nehemiah and the Scrolls, a number of studies have been published on this inter-relationship. A very early theory by Shemaryahu Talmon tried to identify a precedent for the self-designation *yaḥad* “community”, frequently attested in the Scrolls, with the occurrence of the adverb *yaḥad* in Ezra 4:3 where it refers to the group rebuilding the Temple.<sup>57</sup> Talmon's proposal has not won much support, however.<sup>58</sup> Morton Smith paved the way in 1960 with an important essay entitled “The Dead Sea Scrolls in Relation to Ancient Judaism”<sup>59</sup> which sketched

<sup>55</sup> See Jokiranta, “Qumran—The Prototypical Teacher”.

<sup>56</sup> See also Lester L. Grabbe, *Ezra-Nehemiah*, London, Routledge, 1998, p. 125-153; Kratz, *Narrative Books of the Old Testament*, p. 76-77 who describes the Ezra narrative as “legend”; Kratz, “Ezra – Priest and Scribe”, p. 185-188; and Kratz, *Das Judentum im Zeitalter des Zweiten Tempels*, FAT 42, Tübingen, Mohr Siebeck, 2004, p. 111-118. See also Jürgen C. H. Lebram, “Die Traditionsgeschichte der Esragergestalt und die Frage nach dem historischen Esra”, in *Achaemenid History 1: Sources, Structures and Synthesis*, ed. Helen Sancisi-Weerdenburg, Leiden, Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten, 1987, p. 103-138.

<sup>57</sup> Shemaryahu Talmon, “The Qumran יחד—A Biblical Noun”, in *The World of Qumran from Within*, Leiden/Jerusalem, Brill/Magnes, 1989, p. 53-60.

<sup>58</sup> For a summary see Collins, *Beyond the Qumran Community*, p. 54-55.

<sup>59</sup> Morton Smith, “The Dead Sea Scrolls in Relation to Ancient Judaism”, *NTS* 7, 1960, p. 347-360.

the roots of Jewish sectarianism in the 5<sup>th</sup> and 6<sup>th</sup> centuries, an agenda advanced further by Joseph Blenkinsopp<sup>60</sup> and Talmon.<sup>61</sup> Monographs by Stephen Hultgren and Alexei Sivertsev have explored the relationship between both literatures by focusing particularly on the Damascus Document.<sup>62</sup> This was preceded by the proposal of the late Jerome Murphy-O'Connor<sup>63</sup> and Philip Davies<sup>64</sup> to locate the origins of the Damascus movement in Babylon. Both Davies<sup>65</sup> and I<sup>66</sup> have offered recent studies on Ezra-Nehemiah and the Damascus Document. Davies probed “some ideological matrix ... or ... shared historical tradition”<sup>67</sup> behind both texts, whereas I investigated the intrusion of community leaders who are “almost literally entering the marital bedroom” of the movement’s constituent families. This claim is based on the account in the Damascus Document where the overseer is charged with choosing suitably

<sup>60</sup> Joseph Blenkinsopp, “Interpretation and the Tendency to Sectarianism: An Aspect of Second Temple History”, in *Jewish and Christian Self-Definition*, ed. Ed P. Sanders, Philadelphia, PA, Fortress, 1981, 2:1-26.

<sup>61</sup> Shemaryahu Talmon, “The Emergence of Jewish Sectarianism in the Early Second Temple Period”, in *King, Cult, and Calendar in Ancient Israel: Collected Studies*, Leiden/Jerusalem, Brill/Magnes, 1986, p. 165-201.

<sup>62</sup> Stephen Hultgren, *From the Damascus Covenant to the Covenant of the Community: Historical, and Theological Studies in the Dead Sea Scrolls*, STDJ 66, Leiden, Brill, 2007 and Alexei Sivertsev, *Households, Sects, and the Origins of Rabbinic Judaism*, JSJSup 102, Leiden, Brill, 2005.

<sup>63</sup> Jerome Murphy-O'Connor, “The Essenes and their History”, *RB* 81, 1974, p. 215-244.

<sup>64</sup> Philip Davies, *The Damascus Covenant: An Interpretation of the “Damascus Document”*, JSOTSup 25, Sheffield, JSOT Press, 1983.

<sup>65</sup> Philip Davies, “‘Old’ and ‘New’ Israel in the Bible and the Qumran Scrolls: Identity and Difference”, in *Defining Identities: We, You, and the Other in the Dead Sea Scrolls. Proceedings of the Fifth Meeting of the IOQS in Groningen*, STDJ 70, Leiden, Brill, 2008, p. 33-42.

<sup>66</sup> Charlotte Hempel, “Family Values in the Second Temple Period”, in *Ethical and Unethical in the Old Testament: God and Humans in Dialogue*, ed. Katherine Dell, LHBOTS 528, London, T & T Clark, 2010, p. 211-230; repr., Hempel, *Qumran Rule Texts in Context*, p. 253-270.

<sup>67</sup> Davies, “‘Old’ and ‘New’ Israel”, p. 35.

qualified and experienced women to conduct an intimate examination on a bride accused of a lapse in pre-marital chastity.<sup>68</sup> Studies of Qumran prayer have explored connections between Ezra 9, Neh 9, and the Dead Sea Scrolls.<sup>69</sup> A number of scholars have noted the important relationships between the epilogue of 4QMMT to the concerns and language of Ezra-Nehemiah.<sup>70</sup>

Jacob Wright has suggested that the "sectarian" outlook of parts of Ezra 10, with its strict interpretation of the torah and set penalties for offenders (Ezra 10:8), aligns this material closer to Qumran than Persian period Judah.<sup>71</sup> While there are similarities, it is noteworthy that the reason for the penalties in Ezra 10:8 (confiscation of property and exclusion from the congregation of the *golah*) is a failure to respond to a call throughout Judah and Jerusalem to assemble in Jerusalem. While Wright notes a possible relationship to the Qumran materials with justification, the argument deserves further development. Finally, a particularly extensive examination of Ezra-Nehemiah and its afterlife culminating in the Scrolls has been presented by Joseph Blenkinsopp's perspicacious 2009 monograph *Judaism: The First Phase*.<sup>72</sup>

<sup>68</sup> Hempel, *Qumran Rule Texts in Context*, p. 264. On this material see also 4Q159 (4QOrdinances<sup>a</sup>) 2-4, 8-10 and for discussion Charlotte Hempel, *The Laws of the Damascus Document: Sources, Traditions, and Redaction*, STDJ 29, Leiden, Brill, 1998; repr., Atlanta, GA, SBL, 2006, p. 68-70; Jeffrey H. Tigay, "Examination of the Accused Bride in 4Q159: Forensic Medicine at Qumran", *JANES* 22, 1993, p. 129-134; Aharon Shemesh, "4Q271.3: A Key to Sectarian Matrimonial Law", *JJS* 49, 1998, p. 244-263; and Cecilia Wassen, *Women in the Damascus Document*, Academia Biblica 21, Atlanta, GA, SBL, 2005, p. 71-88.

<sup>69</sup> See, e. g., Steck, *Israel und das gewaltsame Geschick der Propheten*, p. 60-66 and Daniel K. Falk, "Scriptural Inspiration for Penitential Prayer in the Dead Sea Scrolls", in *The Development of Penitential Prayer in Second Temple Judaism*, vol. 2 of *Seeking the Favor of God*, ed. Mark J. Boda, Daniel K. Falk and Rodney A. Werline, EJL 22, Atlanta, SBL, 2007, p. 127-157.

<sup>70</sup> See, for instance, Christine Hayes, *Gentile Impurities and Jewish Identities*, Oxford, OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS, 2002 and Carolyn J. Sharpe, "Phinean Zeal and Rhetorical Strategy in 4QMMT", *RevQ* 18, 1997, p. 207-222.

<sup>71</sup> Jacob Wright, "Seeking, Finding and Writing in Ezra-Nehemiah", in *Unity and Disunity in Ezra-Nehemiah: Redaction, Rhetoric, and Reader*, ed. Mark J. Boda and Paul L. Redditt, HBM 17, Sheffield, Phoenix, 2009, p. 277-304, p. 288 n. 43.

<sup>72</sup> Joseph Blenkinsopp, *Judaism: The First Phase*, Grand Rapids, MI, Eerdmans, 2009.



## 5. The Figure of Ezra and its Legacy in Jewish Tradition

Despite the scant reception of Ezra in the Scrolls, the importance and legacy of this figure in Jewish tradition can barely be overstated. Thus Lester Grabbe opens his commentary with the following assessment.

The figure of Ezra has been profoundly associated with the origin or promulgation or interpretation of ... Torah. The consequence is that the books of Ezra and Nehemiah are in many ways the foundation of much scholarship, not only about the development of the Jewish religion, but even of how the Old Testament (OT) literature emerged.<sup>73</sup>

It is equally clear that the Scrolls are shedding important fresh light on the interpretation of scripture, the emergence of the Hebrew Bible, and the intellectual life of a much broader segment of the Jewish literary, scribal, and priestly elite than once thought.<sup>74</sup>

Scholars have long debated the extent to which our sources allow a glimpse of the historical figure of Ezra. Charles C. Torrey considered the Ezra Memoir and the figure as a fictive creation.<sup>75</sup> Others such as Martin Noth questioned the idea of a reliable Ezra Memoir but held on to the conviction that a historical Ezra is located at the start of the literary process, which he attributes to the Chronicler who made use of Ezra 7:12-26; 8:1-4 and the Nehemiah memoir.<sup>76</sup> Ulrich Kellerman argued that the Ezra Memoir is nothing more than a “Midrasch” on the Artaxerxes edict, esp. Ezra 7:12-23,

<sup>73</sup> Grabbe, *Ezra-Nehemiah*, p. 1. See also Kratz, “Ezra – Priest and Scribe” on the development of the Ezra figure.

<sup>74</sup> See Hempel, *Qumran Rule Texts in Context*, p. 285-299.

<sup>75</sup> Charles C. Torrey, *The Composition and Historical Value of Ezra-Nehemiah*, BZAW 2, Giessen, J. Ricker'sche Buchhandlung, 1896, p. 57-63; more recently see, e.g., Juha Pakkala, *Ezra the Scribe: The Development of Ezra 7-10 and Nehemiah 8*, BZAW 347, Berlin, de Gruyter, 2004.

<sup>76</sup> See, e.g., Martin Noth, *Überlieferungsgeschichtliche Studien: Die sammelnden und bearbeitenden Geschichtswerke im Alten Testament*, Halle (Saale), Niemeyer, 1943, p. 145-148.



26, that goes back to the Chronicler, supplemented by a (pro-)levitical stratum.<sup>77</sup> Sigmund Mowinckel suggested in 1965 that the Chronicler was responsible for Ezra-Nehemiah and made use of an Ezra source compiled by an adoring young eyewitness who much later, in the 4<sup>th</sup> century, put pen to paper to compose his account of Ezra.<sup>78</sup> Mowinckel's confidence about the young age of this Ezra enthusiast and the firm suggestion that we are dealing with a single devotee is speculative.

Most scholars allow for some kind of historical figure whose literary profile was amplified by subsequent authors/editors.<sup>79</sup> Others since Torrey stress the legendary nature of the Ezra figure.<sup>80</sup> It is not crucial for my purposes whether a historical Ezra lies behind the Ezra material or the extent to which his personal contribution has left its mark on the record. Where there seems to be a fair amount of agreement among scholars is that we are able to identify a block of Ezra materials—often called the Ezra Memoir—in Ezra-Nehemiah which most scholars locate in Ezra 7-10 and Neh 8. Disagreement prevails on the original order of the material with the contents of Neh 8 displaced at some stage<sup>81</sup> or secondarily added.<sup>82</sup> The order Ezra 7-8, Neh 8, Ezra 9-10 was first proposed by Torrey<sup>83</sup> and is followed by a great many recent commentators, including Williamson.<sup>84</sup>

<sup>77</sup> See Ulrich Kellermann, "Erwägungen zum Problem der Esradatierung", ZAW 80, 1968, p. 55-87, esp. p. 56 and Ulrich Kellermann, *Nehemia: Quellen, Überlieferung und Geschichte*, Berlin, Töpelmann, 1967, p. 56-69.

<sup>78</sup> Sigmund Mowinckel, *Studien zum Buche Ezra-Nehemia 3: Die Ezrageschichte und das Gesetz Moses*, Oslo, Universitetsforlaget, 1965, p. 75-80, p. 94-96.

<sup>79</sup> See, among others, Fried, *Ezra and the Law*; Pakkala, *Ezra the Scribe*; and Williamson, *Ezra, Nehemiah*.

<sup>80</sup> Kratz, "Ezra—Priest and Scribe"; Lebram, "Traditionsgeschichte der Esrage-stalt", p. 103-138. For the argument that the Ezra narrative is a Hellenistic or early Ptolomaic composition, see Sebastian Grätz, *Das Edikt des Artaxerxes: Eine Untersuchung zum religionspolitischen und historischen Umfeld von Ezra 7, 12-26*, BZAW 327, Berlin, de Gruyter, 2004.

<sup>81</sup> See, e.g., Joseph Blenkinsopp, *Ezra-Nehemiah*, OTL, London, SCM, 1989, p. 284-285; Pakkala, *Ezra the Scribe*; and Williamson, *Ezra, Nehemiah*, p. 277-286.

<sup>82</sup> So, e.g., Kratz, *Narrative Books of the Old Testament*. See also Wright, *Rebuilding Identity*.

<sup>83</sup> Torrey, *Composition and Historical Value of Ezra-Nehemiah*, p. 29-42.

<sup>84</sup> Williamson, *Ezra, Nehemiah*, p. xxxi.

Whether or not Ezra was a fictive creation, as Torrey supposed, or the account of his mission grew out of Artaxerxes's decree,<sup>85</sup> or, with most scholars, a historical figure whose literary record was amplified to a greater or lesser degree by subsequent authors and editors—be they the Chronicler or an anonymous editor or a 2<sup>nd</sup> century BCE Levitical group<sup>86</sup>—it is clear that we have a circle sympathetic to the Ezra materials to thank for this part of the Hebrew Bible. We can be confident that there was a group of people—however small, but certainly influential in their context—who portrayed or constructed Ezra for us in the way they did and identified with the values and activities attributed to him.<sup>87</sup>

A strong case can be made that the Ezra tradents share key concerns and interests with seminal groups reflected in the Scrolls in some perhaps unexpected places.

## 6. Torah Scholarship

A particularly productive avenue of investigation is an examination of Torah scholarship in Ezra-Nehemiah and in the Scrolls, or what Morton Smith has called “the pious life”.<sup>88</sup> As is well known, one of the major discoveries to emerge in the post Cave 1 phase of Qumran publication and research are legal texts that emerged from Caves 4 and 11. Chief among them are the extended Laws of the Damascus Document, the Temple Scroll, 4QMMT, and a myriad of smaller legal texts.<sup>89</sup> As far as Ezra is concerned the case does

<sup>85</sup> So Kellermann, *Nehemia*, p. 56-69.

<sup>86</sup> Kellermann, “Erwägungen zum Problem der Esradatierung”.

<sup>87</sup> For an overview see Lester Grabbe, “Reconstructing History from the Book of Ezra”, in *Second Temple Studies: The Persian Period*, ed. Philip R. Davies, JSOTSup 117, Sheffield, JSOT, 1991, p. 98-107.

<sup>88</sup> Smith, “The Dead Sea Scrolls”, p. 351 with reference to Deut 6:6-7.

<sup>89</sup> See especially Joseph M. Baumgarten, *Studies in Qumran Law*, SJLA 24, Leiden, Brill, 1977; Joseph M. Baumgarten, *Qumran Cave 4.13: The Damascus Document (4Q266-4Q273)*, DJD 18, Oxford, Clarendon, 1996; Joseph M. Baumgarten, *Qumran Cave 4.25: Halakhic Texts*, DJD 35, Oxford, Clarendon, 1999; Hempel, *Laws of the Damascus Document*; Hempel, *Qumran Rule Texts in Context*, p. 173-192; John Kampen and Moshe J. Bernstein, eds., *Reading 4QMMT: New Perspectives on Qumran Law and History*, Atlanta, GA, SBL, 1996; Kratz et al., *Qumran 4QMMT*; Vered Noam, “Halakhah”, in

not need to be made that the Torah is exceedingly closely intertwined with the profile of Ezra.<sup>90</sup> Finally, the account of legal exposition and instruction as it emerges from Ezra 7:10, Neh 8:3; 9:3 can fruitfully be put in conversation with references to communal and individual torah study in the Dead Sea Scrolls such as 1QS 6:6-8; 8:11-12, 15; CD 6:7; 20:6-7.<sup>91</sup> We may add also 4Q159 (Ordinances<sup>a</sup>) 5:6 which contains a fragmentary reference to studying the law in distress (ד[רוש התורה בצוקה]). Fragment 5 is widely considered to belong to a pesher unrelated to the remainder of 4Q159.<sup>92</sup>

## 7. Conclusion

We have argued that the sparse Ezra profile in the Dead Sea Scrolls ought to be seen against the context of the choppy reception history of Ezra and Nehemiah in the Second Temple period. There is

*T&T Clark Companion to the Dead Sea Scrolls*, ed. George J. Brooke and Charlotte Hempel, London, T&T Clark, 2018, p. 395-404; Elisha Qimron and John Strugnell, *Qumran Cave 4.5: Miqṣat Ma'ase ha-Torah*, DJD 10, Oxford, Clarendon, 1994; Lawrence Schiffman, *The Halakhah at Qumran*, SJLA 16, Leiden, Brill, 1975; Lawrence Schiffman, *The Courtyards of the House of the Lord: Studies on the Temple Scroll*, Leiden, Brill, 2008; Lawrence Schiffman, *Qumran and Jerusalem: Studies in the Dead Sea Scrolls and the History of Judaism*, Grand Rapids, MI, Eerdmans, 2010, p. 143-215; Aharon Shemesh, *Halakhah in the Making: The Development of Jewish Law from Qumran to the Rabbis*, Berkeley, CA, University of California Press, 2009; and Yigael Yadin, *The Temple Scroll*, Jerusalem, The Israel Exploration Society, 1983.

<sup>90</sup> See Fried, *Ezra and the Law*; Sebastian Grätz, "The Second Temple and the Legal Status of the Torah: The Hermeneutics of the Torah in the Books of Ruth and Ezra", in *The Pentateuch as Torah: New Models for Understanding Its Promulgation and Acceptance*, ed. Gary Knoppers and Bernard M. Levinson, Winona Lake, IN, Eisenbrauns, 2017, p. 273-287; and most recently Jonathan Vroom, *The Authority of Law in the Hebrew Bible: Tracing the Origins of Legal Obligation from Ezra to Qumran*, JSJSup 187, Leiden, Brill, 2018.

<sup>91</sup> I have dealt with some of these texts alongside Josh 1:8 and Ps 1:2 elsewhere, see Hempel, *Qumran Rule Texts in Context*, p. 285-298 and further literature cited there. See further Reinhard G. Kratz, *Historisches und biblisches Israel*, Tübingen, Mohr Siebeck, 2013, p. 209-210.

<sup>92</sup> For recent discussion see Moshe Bernstein, *Law, Pesher and the History of Interpretation*, vol. 2 of *Reading and Re-Reading Scripture at Qumran*, STDJ 107, Leiden, Brill, 2013, p. 540-553 where he notes the relationship between 4Q159 5:6 and several of the texts listed above.

little scholarly agreement of the literary input on the part of the historical Ezra to the book, and dates for the Ezra narrative range from the Persian period<sup>93</sup> to as late as to the Hellenistic<sup>94</sup> or Hasmonean period.<sup>95</sup> We also reviewed nuanced recent research on the Teacher of Righteousness in the Scrolls and noted a move away from associating this figure with the remarkably prodigious literary oeuvre earlier scholarship attributed to him, often based on very little evidence. The receding dominance of the Teacher in current scholarship has gone hand in hand with an increasing acknowledgement—as the full preserved corpus became available—that the texts to have emerged from Qumran shed light on a much broader “slice” of ancient Judaism than initially thought.

I argued, further, that by looking beyond individuals and away from stressing the singularity of Teacher and Ezra as they emerge from the preserved literature, a compelling case can be made for circles of Judean legal scholars that can be traced from the Persian to the Hasmonean period and beyond.<sup>96</sup> I would like to end with a perceptive and up to date evaluation of the Dead Sea Scrolls offered by Eibert Tigchelaar, who concludes his assessment by noting both the variety of movements attested in the Scrolls as well as the considerable extent to which various parts of the corpus are interconnected. Tigchelaar further conceives of a “specific early Jewish current consisting of different interlinked groups and movements with a common interpretative approach to Scripture and a shared legal tradition”.<sup>97</sup> The present paper proposes to look again at Ezra-Nehemiah and the Dead Sea Scrolls in terms of shared approaches to Jewish law which suggests they belong to the same ancient Jewish current, to use Tigchelaar’s term. More detail on the content of the shared legal concerns between Ezra-Nehemiah and the Dead

<sup>93</sup> Williamson, *Ezra, Nehemiah*, p. xxxi-xxxii.

<sup>94</sup> Grätz, *Edikt des Artaxerxes*, p. 289.

<sup>95</sup> See, for instance, Lebram, “Traditionsgeschichte der Esrageralt”, p. 125-136, esp. p. 131.

<sup>96</sup> For a review of the developments in Jewish law from the Persian period to Qumran see Schiffman, *Qumran and Jerusalem*, p. 184-196.

<sup>97</sup> Eibert Tigchelaar, “The Dead Sea Scrolls”, in *The Eerdmans Dictionary of Early Judaism*, ed. John J. Collins and Daniel C. Harlow, Grand Rapids, MI, Eerdmans, 2010, p. 163-180, p. 179.

Sea Scrolls is likely to be found in halakhic positions and arguments espoused in both collections, a topic to which I hope to return.

# The Prohibition of Local Butchery in Leviticus 17:3-4: The Evidence from the Dead Sea Scrolls

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**Résumé.** Cet article analyse la transmission textuelle de l'interdiction de la boucherie locale en Lv 17,3-4. Il examine l'importance des manuscrits de la Mer morte, en particulier 4QLev<sup>d</sup> et 11Q19, pour l'interprétation de l'ajout du v. 4, attesté dans la Septante et le Pentateuque samaritain, et du changement d'adresse au v. 3, tel qu'il se trouve dans le texte transmis par la Septante. Contrairement à certaines études récentes qui interprètent ces variantes textuelles comme les témoignages d'anciennes tentatives visant à atténuer l'interdiction totale de la boucherie locale, cet article conclut que l'ajout du v. 4 ainsi que la glose du v. 3 renforcent en réalité l'interdiction de tout abattage en dehors du sanctuaire.

## 1. Interpretive Challenges and Textual Variation in the Opening Law of the Holiness Legislation

Few pentateuchal laws have garnered as much attention as Lev 17:3-7. Opening the Holiness legislation ("H") of Lev 17-26, the law

<sup>1</sup> This article was completed as part of a larger research project financed by the Swiss National Fund (project number 153029; director Christophe Nihan). An earlier version was presented at a two-day meeting held in Lausanne in April 2017, during which I received many valuable comments and suggestions. It is a joy and privilege to contribute the present piece to a volume honoring George Brooke, to whom I owe a debt of gratitude not only for the model of academic excellence and scholarly rigor he has provided me, but also the warmth, kindness, and hospitality he has consistently extended to me over the years. Unless otherwise stated, all translations of the biblical text are my own.

of 17:3-7 prohibits the community of Israel to slaughter (שחט) livestock at any location other than the central sanctuary.<sup>2</sup> Within the narrative context of Leviticus, this central shrine is the אהל מועד “tent of meeting” constructed by Moses and the Israelites at the foot of Mount Sinai.<sup>3</sup> Despite this imaginary setting, the law concludes, in v. 7, by insisting that the prohibition applies not only during the wilderness period, but is חקת עולם...לדורותם “an eternal statute ... throughout their generations”. The scribes responsible for H thereby position local butchery as an activity that must be permanently outlawed, and centralized slaughter as an enduring norm.

Commentators have long noted a tension between what this law demands and what is legislated in the book of Deuteronomy. In Deut 12:13-19, the possibility of local butchery is explicitly conceded as part of the legislation of cultic centralization. This is clarified, in Deut 12:20-27, as a concession to those Israelites who live at a distance from the central מקום “place”, since it would have been too arduous to expect them to journey to the מקום every time they wished to eat meat. Why Lev 17:3-7 do not share a similarly permissive outlook, but rather insist on a seemingly-impracticable ban of local slaughter, remains a matter of scholarly debate.<sup>4</sup>

A further difficulty posed by Lev 17:3-7 is the textual variation in the key vv. 3-4 preserved in the ancient witnesses; and it is this textual variation that makes these verses a particularly fascinating case study of how evidence from the Dead Sea Scrolls can reframe

<sup>2</sup> On the translation of שחט in Lev 17:3 as “slaughter”, see HALOT 4 p. 1458-1459, שחט § 1; Jacob Milgrom, *Leviticus 17-22*, AB 3B, New York, NY, Doubleday, 2000, p. 1452-1453.

<sup>3</sup> On the character of the אהל מועד as a central shrine, see Julia Rhyder, *Centralizing the Cult: The Holiness Legislation in Leviticus 17-26*, FAT 134, Tübingen, Mohr Siebeck, 2019, p. 113-123.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. e.g., Erhard Blum, *Studien zur Komposition des Pentateuch*, BZAW 189, Berlin/New York, NY, de Gruyter, 1990, p. 337-338; Eckart Otto, “Innerbiblische Exegese im Heiligkeitgesetz Levitikus 17-26”, in *Levitikus als Buch*, ed. Heinz-Josef Fabry and Hans-Winfried Jüngling, BBB 119, Bodenheim, Philo, 1999, p. 125-196, p. 142-144; Christophe Nihan, *From Priestly Torah to Pentateuch: A Study in the Composition of the Book of Leviticus*, FAT 2/25, Tübingen, Mohr Siebeck, 2007, p. 411-412. On the relationship between the laws of Lev 17 and Deut 12, see Rhyder, *Centralizing the Cult*, p. 224-238.

classical issues in pentateuchal research. In LXX, SP, and one manuscript from Qumran, 4QLev<sup>d</sup> (4Q26),<sup>5</sup> v. 4 contains a lengthy plus over against the shorter text preserved in MT and another manuscript from Qumran, namely 11QpaleoLev (11Q1).<sup>6</sup> The plus offers an expanded description of the offering that is to be presented by

<sup>5</sup> 4Q26 is a highly fragmentary manuscript; its ink is difficult to read and its leather has largely corroded. However, it is possible to discern that it is written in early Herodian script, suggesting it was written around 30 BCE–20 CE; see further e.g., Esther Eshel, “4QLev<sup>d</sup>: A Possible Source for the Temple Scroll and Miḡsat Ma’ase ha-Torah”, *DSD* 2, 1995, p. 1–13, p. 1; Peter W. Flint, “The Book of Leviticus in the Dead Sea Scrolls”, in *The Book of Leviticus: Composition and Reception*, ed. Rolf Rendtorff and Robert A. Kugler, VTSup 93, Leiden/Boston, MA, Brill, 2003, p. 323–341, p. 326. Four passages from Leviticus can be deciphered: Lev 14:27–29 (frgs. 1 and 2), 14:33–36 (frgs. 3–4), 15:20–24 (frg. 5), and 17:2–11 (frg. 6). While it is very difficult to reach any firm conclusions about the provenance or influence of the textual tradition preserved in 4Q26, scholars generally agree that 4Q26 stands closer to the pre-Samaritan texts and the presumed Hebrew *Vorlage* of the LXX of Leviticus than to proto-MT texts; see, e.g., Flint, “Leviticus”, p. 333. This conclusion is largely based on Lev 17:3–4, since 4Q26 shares with LXX the gloss of v. 3 and with LXX and SP the lengthy plus of v. 4. Esther Eshel has argued that the textual tradition of 4Q26 may also have been a source text of the *Temple Scroll*; see Eshel, “4QLev<sup>d</sup>”. As discussed below, TS seems to quote the extended version of Lev 17:4 found in 4Q26 when formulating its law of extrasanctuary slaughter (see esp. its inclusion of the clause *לעשות אותו עלה או שלמים*). However, it is difficult to say whether this betrays the influence of 4Q26 specifically or a more widely dispersed textual tradition, since the plus is also attested in SP and LXX.

<sup>6</sup> 11Q1 comprises a continuous scroll of seven columns, measuring approximately one meter in length and containing most of Lev 22–27, as well as seventeen fragments that preserve traces of Lev 4, 10–11, 13–21. Its paleo-Hebrew text is characterized by highly regulated line and word spacing, assisted by horizontal guidelines and dots placed as word dividers; on this see further Kenneth A. Mathews, “The Paleo-Hebrew Leviticus Scroll from Qumran”, *BA* 50, 1987, p. 45–54, p. 46–47. Scholars typically date 11Q1 to approximately 100 BCE on the basis of a comparison with the script of Hasmonean coinage; see, e.g., Richard S. Hanson, “Paleography”, in *The Paleo-Hebrew Leviticus Scroll (11QpaleoLev)*, by David Noel Freedman and Kenneth A. Matthews, Winona Lake, IN, American Schools of Oriental Research, 1985, p. 15–23. Most scholars classify the scroll as non-aligned, since it shows affinities with various witnesses to Leviticus and contains a number of independent readings; see, e.g., Kenneth A. Mathews, “The Leviticus Scrolls (11QpaleoLev) and the Text of the Hebrew Bible”, *CBQ* 48, 1986, p. 171–207, p. 194–198; Esther Eshel, “Book of Leviticus”, in *Encyclopedia of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, ed. Lawrence H. Schiffman and James C. VanderKam, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2000, p. 488–493, p. 491.



the person who wishes to slaughter his or her livestock for food. The length of the plus is particularly striking given the high degree of uniformity that usually characterizes the text of Leviticus.<sup>7</sup> The MT, LXX, and SP of Leviticus generally evince limited variation, and seem to have stemmed from closely-related parent texts. Few major differences can be observed among the seventeen Leviticus manuscripts that were found at the Dead Sea, including fourteen Hebrew manuscripts, one Aramaic translation (4Q156), and two Greek manuscripts (4Q119-20).<sup>8</sup> Thus, on a quantitative level, the plus at 17:4 constitutes one of the most significant textual variants preserved among the ancient witnesses to Leviticus.

The significance of the plus at 17:4 4Q26/LXX/SP is enhanced when we consider the evidence of the *Temple Scroll* (TS). 11Q19 52:13-21 preserve an early attempt to harmonize Lev 17:3-7 and Deut 12:13-27 by combining their conflicting laws to form a new, compromise ruling on local butchery.<sup>9</sup> The author of TS maintains a limited version of Lev 17 by insisting that local butchery is not to be practiced by any person who lives within a three-day journey from the temple. But beyond this distance, it is implied that the requirement to travel to the sanctuary to slaughter livestock for food is not binding. This essentially agrees with Deut 12, but clarifies the vague wording of Deut 12:21, which permits local butchery if the central sanctuary is “too far from you”. Intriguingly, when

<sup>7</sup> On the textual stability of Leviticus, see e.g., Eshel, “Leviticus”, p. 492; Flint, “Leviticus”; Sarianna Metso, “Evidence from the Qumran Scrolls for the Scribal Transmission of Leviticus”, in *Editing the Bible: Assessing the Task Past and Present*, ed. John S. Kloppenborg and Judith H. Newman, RBS 69, Atlanta, GA, Society of Biblical Literature, 2012, p. 67-79.

<sup>8</sup> The so-called Reworked Pentateuch mss found in Cave 4 at Qumran preserve much more fluid textual traditions of Leviticus than the other DSS, in which the text is rearranged, paraphrased and supplemented (see specifically mss 4Q365-67). Yet, even when the evidence of the RP mss is considered, it remains fair to say that Leviticus exhibit a higher level of textual stability than is typical of other biblical books.

<sup>9</sup> See Yigael Yadin, *The Temple Scroll*, Jerusalem, Israel Exploration Society, 1983, 2:234-235. On the borrowing of language from both Lev 17 and Deut 12 in 11Q19 52:13-21, see Molly M. Zahn, *Rethinking Rewritten Scripture: Composition and Exegesis in the 4QReworked Pentateuch Manuscripts*, STDJ 103, Leiden, Brill, 2011, p. 192-194.

the author of *TS* draws on the text of Lev 17:3-4, he cites a clause that is found only in the plus.<sup>10</sup> In 11Q19 52:13-16 the text reads, “You shall not slaughter a clean ox, sheep or goat in any of your towns, near to my temple, within a three-days’ journey of my temple. But rather in my temple you shall slaughter it, making it a burnt offering or a well-being offering (לעשות אותו עולה או זבח שלמים), and you shall eat and rejoice before me at the place upon which I will choose to put my name”. The clause לעשות אותו עולה שלמים in 11Q19 52:15 mirrors the extended description of the offerings to be brought to the shrine that is attested in the longer version of Lev 17:4 preserved in 4Q26, LXX, and SP. *TS* thus confirms that the plus is both ancient and authoritative, at least in the eyes of the author of this rewritten scripture composition.

In several recent studies, David Rothstein and David Andrew Teeter have independently advanced an intriguing thesis concerning the possible purpose of the plus at Lev 17:4.<sup>11</sup> They have suggested that it might constitute an early attempt to offer the kind of harmonized reading of Lev 17:3-7 and Deut 12:13-27 that we observe in the reception of these laws in 11Q19 52. The sacrificial details added to v. 4, they suggest, may have been intended to reduce the scope of the law to the issue of sacrificial worship alone, and thereby avoid entirely the question of whether the Israelites might practice local butchery. Such an amendment, Rothstein and Teeter have argued, could possibly reveal that the scribes who transmitted Lev 17 were aware of the tension resulting from the permission of extrasanctuary slaughter in Deut 12 and tried to address it by amending the wording of v. 4 so that the two texts refer to the same legislative issue: namely, the offering of sacrifices away from the central sanctuary. The topic of extrasanctuary slaughter is thereby

<sup>10</sup> As noted by, e.g., Eshel, “4QLev<sup>d</sup>”, p. 9; Zahn, *Rewritten Scripture*, p. 193. This point is also acknowledged by David Rothstein, “Leviticus 17,3-4, Deuteronomy 12,20-21: Exegesis and Intertextuality as Reflected in the Ancient Textual Witnesses and Second Temple Sources”, *SJOT* 24, 2010, p. 193-207, p. 199, and David Andrew Teeter, *Scribal Laws: Exegetical Variation in the Textual Transmission of Biblical Law in the Late Second Temple Period*, FAT 92, Tübingen, Mohr Siebeck, 2014, p. 84-85, although it is arguably more significant than they acknowledge.

<sup>11</sup> Rothstein, “Leviticus 17,3-4”; David Andrew Teeter, “Textgeschichte, Fortschreibung, und Rechtshermeneutik: Das Problem der ‘profanen’ Schlachtung in Lev 17”, *HBAI* 2, 2013, p. 287-314; Teeter, *Scribal Laws*, p. 76-94.

entirely avoided in Lev 17:3-7. In this case, the plus would be of both quantitative and qualitative significance: it would amend Lev 17:3-7 in order to harmonize these verses with Deut 12:13-27 (albeit without drawing on the wording of the latter text), such that H's law simply confirms, with Deuteronomy, that the Israelites must centralize their sacrificial worship to a single shrine.

The present article enters this discussion by examining the textual differences among the witnesses to Lev 17:3-4, with particular attention to the evidence of the transmission and reception of this prohibition in the Dead Sea Scrolls. It first reevaluates the effect of the plus at Lev 17:4 on the legislative import of H's opening law and the significance of its reception in *TS*'s compromise ruling. Furthermore, it expands the analysis of the textual variations in this law beyond the evidence that is considered by Rothstein and Teeters by discussing not only the plus at v. 4, but also the small gloss in 17:3 4Q26/LXX. While the gloss is quantitatively very minor—it adds only one detail to the law: namely that the immigrant (ἄλλογενής) must be included among its addressees, alongside the native Israelites—it arguably matches, or perhaps even exceeds the qualitative significance of the plus at v. 4; moreover, it provides valuable counterevidence to Rothstein and Teeter's thesis that the textual variants in Lev 17 point to an ancient attempt to reduce the scope of H's opening law. While I treat the gloss of v. 3 and the plus of v. 4 together, I do not wish to conflate the two variants. Since SP attests the plus, but lacks the gloss of v. 3, it seems that they were introduced to the text of Lev 17:3-4 in separate stages. Nevertheless, when the two variants are considered side by side, they together point to a different conclusion to that which is reached by Rothstein and Teeter; namely, far from reducing the relevance of the ban on local butchery, both the gloss and the plus serve to clarify and intensify it.

## **2. The Plus at Lev 17:4 4QLev<sup>d</sup>, LXX, SP and Its Reception in 11Q19 52:13-21**

I begin my analysis by providing the text of Lev 17:3-4 as it appears in the various textual witnesses, as well as the passage of *TS* (11Q19

52:14-21) that reflects the plus at v. 4, based on the transcription and translation of Y. Yadin.<sup>12</sup> Major differences with the MT are shown in bold.

17:3-4 MT

3 איש איש מבית ישראל אשר ישחט שור או־כשב או־עז במחנה או אשר ישחט מחוץ למחנה 4 ואל־פתח אהל מועד לא הביאו להקריב קרבן ליהוה לפני משכן יהוה דם יחשב לאיש ההוא דם שפך ונכרת האיש ההוא מקרב עמו

3 Anyone from the house of Israel who slaughters an ox or a sheep or a goat in the camp, or slaughters it outside the camp, 4 and does not bring it to the entrance of the tent of meeting to present it as an offering to Yhwh before the habitation of Yhwh, bloodguilt shall be reckoned to that person, for he has shed blood; he shall be cut off from the midst of his people.

17:3-4 11Q1

3 איש איש מבית ישראל אשר ישחט שור או [כשב] או עז במחנה] או אשר ישחט מחוצ ל[מ]חנה 4 ואל פתח אהל מועד [ל]א הביאו [להקריב קרבן ליהוה לפני מש[כן] כנ] יהוה דם יחשב לאי[ש] ההוא דם שפך [ונכרת האיש ההוא מק[רב] עמו

3 Anyone from the house of Israel who slaughters an ox or[ ]a sheep [or a goat in the cam]p, or slaughters it outside the [c]amp, 4 and does no[t bring it] to the entrance of the tent of meetin[g] to present it as an offering to Yhwh before the habit[ation] of Yhwh, bloodguilt shall be reckoned to that per[son, for he has shed blood]; he shall be cut off from the mid[st of] his people.

17:3-4 SP

3 איש איש מבית ישראל אשר ישחט שור או כשב או עז במחנה או אשר ישחט מחוץ למחנה 4 ואל פתח אהל מועד לא הביאו לעשות אתו עלה או שלמים ליהוה לרצונכם לריח ניחח וישחטהו בחוץ ואל פתח אהל מועד לא הביאו להקריבו קרבן ליהוה לפני משכן יהוה דם יחשב לאיש ההוא דם שפך ונכרת האיש ההוא מקרב עמיו

3 Anyone from the house of Israel who slaughters an ox or a sheep or a goat in the camp, or slaughters it outside the camp, 4 and does not bring

<sup>12</sup> Yadin, *Temple Scroll*, 2:224-226.

it to the entrance of the tent of meeting to **make it a burnt offering or well-being offering to Yhwh for your favor as a soothing aroma, but slaughters it outside and does not bring it to the entrance of the tent of meeting** to present it as an offering to Yhwh before the habitation of Yhwh, bloodguilt shall be reckoned to that person, for he has shed blood; he shall be cut off from the midst of his people.

17:3-4 4Q26

3 [איש איש מבית ישראל והגר ה]גר בישראל אשר יש[חט שור או כשב או עז במחנה או אשר ישח]ט מחוצה למחנה 4 ו[א]ל פת[ח אוהל מועד לא הביאו לעשות אתו עלה] או שלמים ליהוה לרצונכם ל[ריח ניחח וישחטהו בחוץ ואל פתח אוהל מו]עד לוא יביאנו להקריבו ק[רבן ליהוה לפני משכן יהוה דם יחשב לאיש ה]הו[א] דם שפך ונכרת[ האיש ההוא מקרב עמו ]

3 [Anyone from the house of Israel, **and from the immigrant**] sojourning in Israel, who slaugh[ters an ox or a sheep or a goat in the camp, or slaugh]ters it outside the camp, 4 and does not bring it t[o] the entr[ance of the tent of meeting to **make it a burnt offering**] or well-being offering to Yhwh for your favor a[s a soothing aroma, but slaughters it outside and does not bring it to the entrance of the tent of mee]ting to present it as an of[fering to Yhwh before the habitation of Yhwh, blood will reckon iniquity to] th[at person], for he has shed blood; he shall be cut off [from the midst of his people.]

17:3-4 LXX

3 Ἄνθρωπος ἄνθρωπος τῶν υἱῶν Ἰσραὴλ ἢ τῶν προσηλύτων τῶν προσκειμένων ἐν ὑμῖν, ὃς ἂν σφάξῃ μόσχον ἢ πρόβατον ἢ αἶγα ἐν τῇ παρεμβολῇ καὶ ὃς ἂν σφάξῃ ἔξω τῆς παρεμβολῆς 4 καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν θύραν τῆς σκηνῆς τοῦ μαρτυρίου μὴ ἐνέγκῃ ὥστε ποιῆσαι αὐτὸ εἰς ὀλοκαύτωμα ἢ σωτήριον κυρίῳ δεκτὸν εἰς ὁσμὴν εὐωδίας, καὶ ὃς ἂν σφάξῃ ἔξω καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν θύραν τῆς σκηνῆς τοῦ μαρτυρίου μὴ ἐνέγκῃ αὐτὸ ὥστε μὴ προσενέγκαι δῶρον κυρίῳ ἀπέναντι τῆς σκηνῆς κυρίου, καὶ λογισθήσεται τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ ἐκείνῳ αἷμα· αἷμα ἐξέχεεν, ἐξολεθρευθήσεται ἡ ψυχὴ ἐκείνη ἐκ τοῦ λαοῦ αὐτῆς·

3 Anyone from the sons of Israel, **or from the immigrants who dwell among you**, who slaughters an ox or a sheep or a goat in the camp, and who slaughters it outside the camp, 4 and does not bring it to the

entrance of the tent of testimony **to make it a burnt offering or well-being offering to the lord for your favor as a soothing aroma, and who slaughters it outside and does not bring it to the entrance of the tent of testimony** to present it as an offering before the habitation of the lord, bloodguilt shall be reckoned to that person, for he has shed blood; he shall be cut off from the midst of his people.

11Q19 52:13-21

- 13 ... לוא תזבח שור ושה ועז טהורים  
14 בכול שעריכה קרוב למקדשי דרך שלושת ימים כי אם בתוך  
15 מקדשי תזבחנו לעשות אותו עולה או זבח שלמים ואכלתה  
16 ושמתה לפני במקום אשר אבחר לשום שמי עליו. וכול הבהמה  
17 הטהורה אשר יש בה מום בשעריכה תואכלנה רחוק ממקדשי  
18 סביב שלושים רס. לוא תזבח [ ] קרוב למקדשי כי בשר פגול  
19 הוא. לוא תואכל בשר שור ושה ועז בתוך עירי אשר אנוכי מקדש  
20 לשום שמי בתוכה אשר לוא יבוא לתוך מקדשי וזבחו שמה  
21 וזרקו את דמו על יסוד מזבח העולה ואת חלבו יקטירו  
13 ... You shall not slaughter a clean ox, sheep or goat  
14 in any of your towns, near to my temple, within a three-days' journey of my temple. But rather in  
15 my temple you shall slaughter it, making it a burnt offering or a well-being sacrifice; and you shall eat it  
16 and you shall rejoice before me at the place upon which I will choose to put my name. Every clean  
17 animal which has a blemish, you shall eat it within your towns, far from my temple,  
18 thirty *ris* surrounding [it]. You shall not slaughter [ ] near my temple, for it is unclean meat.  
19 You shall not eat the meat of an ox, a sheep or a goat within my city, which I consecrate  
20 to put my name there: this shall not come into my temple. They shall slaughter it there  
21 and dash its blood upon the base of the altar of burnt offering; and its fat they shall burn.

According to 17:4 MT and 11Q1, the person who has committed extra-sanctuary slaughter is charged with the following offense: **ואל-פתח אהל מועד לא הביאו להקריב קרבן ליהוה לפני משכן יהוה**. In contrast,

the plus at 17:4 LXX, 4Q26, and SP describes the offense with much greater emphasis on the sacrifices that are denied Yhwh by the one who commits local butchery: ואל פתח אהל מועד לא הביאו לעשות אתו: עלה או שלמים ליהוה לרצונכם לריח ניחח וישחטהו בחוץ ואל פתח אהל מועד לא הביאו להקריבו קרבן ליהוה לפני משכן יהוה /καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν θύραν τῆς σκηνῆς τοῦ μαρτυρίου μὴ ἐνέγκῃ ὥστε ποιῆσαι αὐτὸ εἰς ὀλοκαύτωμα ἢ σωτήριον κυρίῳ δεκτὸν εἰς ὁσμὴν εὐωδίας, καὶ ὃς ἂν σφάξῃ ἔξω καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν θύραν τῆς σκηνῆς τοῦ μαρτυρίου μὴ ἐνέγκῃ αὐτὸ ὥστε μὴ προσενέγκαι δῶρον κυρίῳ ἀπέναντι τῆς σκηνῆς κυρίου.

Scholars have long disagreed on the originality of the plus. A minority of commentators has argued that the longer text of LXX, 4Q26, and SP preserves the earlier version of v. 4.<sup>13</sup> In this case, the shorter form of MT and 11Q1 would be the product of scribal parallelism, such that the repetition of the phrase ואל פתח אהל מועד לא הביאו would have caused the scribe to omit the intervening text. However, it seems more probable that the plus is secondary. The additional material is marked by unnecessary repetition, which is a characteristic feature of later additions. Moreover, its reference to both the עלה and the שלמים is discordant with v. 5, which refers only to the offering of the שלמים upon the altar. This suggests that the formulation of 17:4 MT and 11Q1, which omits the reference to the עלה, is the more original.<sup>14</sup>

Further evidence in support of this conclusion is the high level of redundancy that the inclusion of the עלה in v. 4 creates within Lev 17 as a whole. The law of Lev 17:3-7 is immediately followed, at 17:8-9, by a prohibition that shifts focus from slaughter (שחט) to sacrifice (עלה) of עלה או־זבח “burnt offering or sacrifice” (v. 8) at any site other than the entrance of the tent of meeting. There

<sup>13</sup> David Noel Freedman, “Variant Readings in the Leviticus Scroll from Qumran Cave 11”, *CBQ* 36, 1974, p. 525-534, p. 529; John William Wevers, *Text History of the Greek Leviticus*, MSU 19, Göttingen, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1986, p. 261. See further Alfred Bertholet, *Leviticus*, KHC 3, Tübingen/Leipzig, Mohr Siebeck, 1901, p. 59; Henry T. C. Sun, “An Investigation into the Compositional Integrity of the So-called Holiness Code (Leviticus 17-26)”, PhD dissertation, The Claremont Graduate School, 1990, p. 66-67.

<sup>14</sup> As has been argued by, e.g., Karl Elliger, *Leviticus*, HAT 4, Tübingen, Mohr Siebeck, 1966, p. 219; Milgrom, *Leviticus* 17-22, p. 1456; Nihan, *From Priestly Torah to Pentateuch*, p. 409 n. 456; Teeter, *Scribal Laws*, p. 77-82.

would seem to be no reason for H to include the law of Lev 17:8-9 if, in vv. 3-4, the sacrifice of the *עלה* away from the central shrine has already been forbidden. Finally, the secondary nature of the plus is supported by the exclusion of domesticated birds from the list of animals at v. 3a. The absence of birds makes little sense if the *עלה* is original to v. 4, since the offering of birds as whole burnt offerings is permitted in Lev 1:14-17. It makes perfect sense, however, if the *שלמים* is the only sacrifice named in Lev 17:3-7 (see v. 5), since birds are not included in Lev 3 among the possible donations that might be presented as well-being sacrifices.

Despite the secondary character of the plus, the presence of such a major variation among the ancient witnesses to v. 4, including multiple texts from the Dead Sea (4Q26 as well as the reference at 11Q19 52:13-21) is significant. The question therefore remains, What might have been the intended purpose of the plus at Lev 17:4? Its primary semantic contribution seems to be that it clarifies the types of offerings that were to be brought to the tent of meeting when the Israelites practice centralized slaughter. The plus accuses the person who has committed local butchery of having failed to present *עלה או שלמים* “a burnt offering or well-being offering”. As already mentioned, Rothstein and Teeter have suggested that the addition of the *עלה* was intended to change the legislative import of the law, shifting the focus from the slaughter of animals for food to the making of sacrifices.<sup>15</sup> The plus effectively blurs the distinction between the slaughter described in v. 3 and the sacrifice described in v. 8, and thereby merges the two laws into “a single commandment”<sup>16</sup> concerned only with the issue of the making of sacrifices away from the sanctuary.

But does the plus reduce the scope of the law of vv. 3-4 to sacrificial slaughter alone? The inclusion of the *עלה* in v. 4 does not change the nature of the offense described in v. 3; that is, the *slaughter* of an ox, sheep, or goat away from the sanctuary. Whatever happens to the animal once it arrives at the sanctuary, whether it is designated as a whole burnt offering or as a well-being sacrifice, the effect of the law remains the same: it abolishes any type of extrasanctuary slaughter. Furthermore, 11Q19 52:13-21

<sup>15</sup> Rothstein, “Leviticus 17,3-4”; Teeter, *Scribal Laws*, p. 76-94.

<sup>16</sup> Teeter, *Scribal Laws*, p. 93.



confirm that the plus leaves unchanged the focus of 17:3-4 on local butchery. *The fact that the author of this passage drew on the plus to institute a limit on the practice of local butchery confirms that the plus was understood in antiquity to refer to extrasanctuary slaughter, and to not be restricted to the issue of sacrifice.*<sup>17</sup> Indeed, it would make little sense for the author of TS to have felt the need to blend Lev 17 and Deut 12 if the plus at v. 4 had already alleviated any conflict between their two rulings on local butchery.

Rather than harmonizing Lev 17 and Deut 12, the plus seems aimed at expanding the type of offering that could be brought when the Israelites slaughtered their animals at the central shrine. It provides a more explicit formulation of the offering that was to be made at the sanctuary. In the shorter formulation in MT and 11Q1, v. 4 includes only the very general statement *“להקריב קרבן”* “to bring an offering”. Verse 5 then clarifies that this *קרבן* is, in fact, to be presented by the priest as a *שלמים*. The plus, by contrast, names both the *עלה* and the *שלמים* as possible offerings that could be offered by the person who brings his or her livestock to the tent of meeting to be slaughtered. While the inclusion of the *עלה* jars with v. 5 (where only the *שלמים* is mentioned), it was probably inserted because the scribes who were responsible for the plus could not understand why “the paradigmatic offering of the Hebrew Bible”<sup>18</sup> had not been listed as a suitable offering along with the *שלמים*. Such a high regard for the *עלה* would therefore have seen it added to v. 4, despite the problems of redundancy that its insertion creates with 17:8-9.<sup>19</sup>

The plus also clarifies that the act of slaughter is wrongful if it takes place *בחוץ* “outside” the tent of meeting. At first glance, this comment appears unnecessary, since v. 3 already states that the

<sup>17</sup> This point is acknowledged by Teeter, *Scribal Laws*, p. 91, who seems on the whole to be sensitive to the difficulties arising from his suggestion that the plus changed the legislative import of the law. Nevertheless, Teeter maintains that the plus was intended to restrict the import of the law to situations of sacrificial slaughter alone, even though the wording of the plus is so clumsy that, in its current formulation, he thinks that it barely achieves this aim.

<sup>18</sup> James W. Watts, *Ritual and Rhetoric in Leviticus: From Sacrifice to Scripture*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2007, p. 63.

<sup>19</sup> As argued by Nihan, *From Priestly Torah to Pentateuch*, p. 59 n. 56.

slaughter occurred מחוץ למחנה “outside the camp” or במחנה “inside the camp”, and thus by implication outside the sanctuary. However, in the shorter formulation of v. 4, it is possible to interpret the law as requiring only that the animal carcass or its blood be *subsequently* brought to the tent of meeting. To be sure, we should not overstate the likelihood that ancient readers would have interpreted Lev 17:3-4 in this way, even if some modern scholars have read the law as if this were its legal import.<sup>20</sup> The same phrase להקריב קרבן occurs in passages like Lev 1:2-3 that describe ritual actions that unambiguously involve killing the animal at the entrance of the tent of meeting, such that the wording of v. 4 in MT and 11Q1 was probably not so unclear to ancient readers. Nevertheless, the fact that the person responsible for the plus saw the need to make such a specification concerning the location of the slaughter suggests that this was viewed as a possible misreading.<sup>21</sup> The plus avoids any possibility of ambiguity by clarifying that the offender erred not only when he or she failed to present the animal as an offering, but also when he or she slaughtered it away from the sanctuary. Hence, far from limiting the scope of the law, the plus at Lev 17:4 confirms the need for the Israelites to avoid local butchery at all costs. The Israelites must be sure to make appropriate offerings to the deity, at the appropriate location, whenever they slaughter their livestock.

### 3. The Gloss at Lev 17:3 in 4Q26 and LXX

The importance of the Dead Sea Scrolls for the study of extrasanctuary slaughter are further apparent when we turn to 17:3, where we find important differences concerning who must observe the ban on local butchery. According to 17:3 MT, SP, and 11Q1, the prohibition of local butchery is binding only for the native Israelites

<sup>20</sup> See, e.g., Martin Noth, *Leviticus: A Commentary*, trans. J. E. Anderson, OTL, London, SCM Press, 1977, p. 129.

<sup>21</sup> As argued by Reinhard G. Kratz, “‘The Place which He Has Chosen’: The Identification of the Cult Place of Deut. 12 and Lev. 17 in 4QMMT”, in *Meghillot V-VI: A Festschrift for Devorah Dimant*, ed. Moshe Bar-Asher and Emanuel Tov, Jerusalem/Haifa, Biliak Institute/Haifa University Press, 2007, p. 57-80, p. 59.

(אִישׁ אִישׁ מִבֵּית יִשְׂרָאֵל; v. 3aα). In 4Q26 and LXX, by contrast, the immigrant is added to the law's addressees. Note, however, that the wording of the gloss differs slightly in the two witnesses: in LXX, the introductory formula of v. 3aα mirrors that of vv. 8aα, 13aα, and 10aα, all of which have been standardized to read: ἄνθρωπος ἄνθρωπος τῶν υἱῶν Ἰσραὴλ ἢ τῶν προσηλύτων τῶν προσκειμένων ἐν ὑμῖν “anyone from the sons of Israel, or from the immigrants who dwell among you”.<sup>22</sup> In 4Q26, by contrast, the gloss reads: אִישׁ אִישׁ מִבֵּית יִשְׂרָאֵל וְהַגֵּר הַגֵּר בְּיִשְׂרָאֵל “anyone from the house of Israel, and from the immigrant sojourning in Israel”. Yet, despite their differences in wording, both 4Q26 and LXX have the same effect of widening the audience of the law beyond the native Israelites.

Several factors favor the view that the immigrant was added to an earlier version of Lev 17:3 that was addressed to the native Israelites alone.<sup>23</sup> First, the difference between the addressees of the law of vv. 3-7 and those of vv. 8-9 is again essential to understanding why H included two laws forbidding the killing of domestic animals away from the sanctuary, one in the case of animals killed for food (vv. 3-7) and the other for animals killed for sacrifice (vv. 8-9). While it is only the Israelites who must be sure never to practice local butchery, a new introductory formula at v. 8 specifies that *anyone*, either Israelite or alien, who wishes to make a *sacrifice* to Yhwh must bring his or her offering to the tent of meeting. To include the גֵּר in both laws would make vv. 8-9 superfluous, since every act of slaughtering an animal would already be “de facto defined as a sacrifice”<sup>24</sup> for the whole community through the prohibition of extrasanctuary slaughter (vv. 3-7).

<sup>22</sup> Leviticus 17:8 contains a minor variation in formulation when compared to the other four laws in LXX, since it includes the preposition ἀπό “from” before the reference to the προσήλυτος.

<sup>23</sup> As argued by, e.g., Christoph Bultmann, *Der Fremde im antiken Juda: Eine Untersuchung zum sozialen Typenbegriff “ger” und seinem Bedeutungswandel in der alttestamentlichen Gesetzgebung*, FRLANT 153, Göttingen, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1992, p. 193 n. 178; John William Wevers, *Notes on the Greek Text of Leviticus*, SCS 44, Atlanta, GA, Scholars Press, 1997, p. 260; Milgrom, *Leviticus 17-22*, p. 1453; Nihan, *From Priestly Torah to Pentateuch*, p. 415; Thomas Hieke, *Leviticus 16-27*, HThKAT, Freiburg/Basel/Vienna, Herder, 2014, p. 2:615.

<sup>24</sup> Christophe Nihan, “Resident Aliens and Natives in the Holiness Legislation”, in *The Foreigner and the Law: Perspectives from the Hebrew Bible and the Ancient Near*

Second, the omission of the גר from the prohibition of extrasanctuary slaughter is consistent with the distinction, maintained throughout Lev 17-26, between the cultic obligations of the native Israelite and of the גר. Earlier scholarship imagined the גר in Lev 17-26 to be a convert to the Israelite religion.<sup>25</sup> But this is unlikely, given that H never obliges the גר to participate in the cult in the same way as it does native Israelites.<sup>26</sup> Leviticus 24:15b may even suggest that the גר was expected to worship foreign deities.<sup>27</sup> Rather than a convert, then, the גר in H is simply “a resident alien to whom certain rights have been conceded, and who in turn must observe certain duties”.<sup>28</sup> The exclusion of the גר from Lev 17:3 MT, SP, and 11Q1 is therefore logical. Only if the גר should elect to make a sacrifice to Yhwh would he or she be required to follow the proper cultic procedure (vv. 8-9). By contrast, the גר is under no obligation to participate in the cult in matters of everyday slaughter. This supports reading the inclusion of the גר in Lev 17:3a 4Q26 and LXX as an innovation, and the formulation of v. 3 in MT, SP, and 11Q1 as the original.

Yet, even if the gloss in v. 3 is a secondary addition, there is still the question of why a scribe felt the need to include the immigrant in the law. One theory, suggested by Christiana van Houten, is that

East, ed. Reinhard Achenbach, et al., BZABR 16, Wiesbaden, Harrassowitz Verlag, 2011, p. 111-135, p. 125.

<sup>25</sup> See, e.g., Alfred Bertholet, *Die Stellung der Israeliten und der Juden zu den Fremden*, Freiburg/Leipzig, Mohr Siebeck, 1896, p. 152-178; Elliger, *Leviticus*, p. 227; Karl Georg Kuhn, “προσήλυτος,” *TDNT* 6, p. 727-744; Hans-Peter Mathys, *Liebe deinen Nächsten wie dich selbst: Untersuchungen zum alttestamentlichen Gebot der Nächstenliebe (Lev 19,18)*, OBO 71, Fribourg/Göttingen, Academic Press/Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1986, p. 40.

<sup>26</sup> As argued by Frank Crüsemann, *The Torah: Theology and Social History of Old Testament Law*, trans. Allen W. Mahnke, Edinburgh, T&T Clark, 1996, p. 185; Jan Joosten, *People and Land in the Holiness Code: An Exegetical Study of the Ideational Framework of the Law in Leviticus 17-26*, VTSup 67, Leiden/New York, Brill, 1996, p. 63-64; Rainer Albertz, “From Aliens to Proselytes: Non-Priestly and Priestly Legislation Concerning Strangers”, in *The Foreigner and the Law: Perspectives from the Hebrew Bible and the Ancient Near East*, ed. Reinhard Achenbach, et al., BZABR 16, Wiesbaden, Harrassowitz Verlag, 2011, p. 53-69, p. 56-63.

<sup>27</sup> See further Nihan, “Resident Aliens”, p. 115.

<sup>28</sup> Joosten, *People*, p. 64.

the immigrant came to be included in v. 3 when the law was translated into Greek.<sup>29</sup> At that time, she has argued, the term *προσήλυτος* referred not simply to an immigrant but to a convert to the Israelite religion. This speaks to the long-standing scholarly discussion of the meaning of the word *προσήλυτος*, which is used by the Greek translators in all instances in which the term *ג* occurs in Leviticus, and in the majority of cases in which *ג* is employed in the Hebrew Bible (HB).<sup>30</sup> The term *προσήλυτος* does not occur in Classical Greek. It is rather a neologism of the LXX, which seems to be based on the adjective *ἐπήλυτος* “having arrived from outside”.<sup>31</sup> When this term is used in the New Testament, it clearly designates a person of non-Israelite origins who has converted to Judaism.<sup>32</sup> Philo invests it with a similar meaning (*Spec. Leg.* 1:51, 52). Scholars have thus often argued that *προσήλυτος* conveys the same sense of “proselyte” when it is used in the LXX.<sup>33</sup> Building on this understanding of *προσήλυτος*, van Houten has argued that *προσήλυτος* was introduced in 17:3 LXX because the Greek translators expected the *ג* to be a convert to the Israelite religion, and therefore obliged to follow its cultic laws. The translator thus glossed the text to include the *προσήλυτος* because, in his view, the proselyte should be equally accountable to Israelite cultic law as the native Israelite.

Despite the sophistication of her argument, van Houten seems to have built her case without considering the evidence of the Dead

<sup>29</sup> Christina van Houten, *The Alien in Israelite Law*, JSOTSup 107, Sheffield, JSOT Press, 1991, p. 181 with n. 184.

<sup>30</sup> See, however, the eleven instances of *πάροικος* (Gen 15:13; 23:4; Exod 2:22; 18:3; Deut 14:21; 23:8; 2 Kgdms 1:13; 1 Chr 29:15; Ps 39:12; 119:19; Jer 14:8), the two occurrences of *γειώρας* (Exod 12:19; Isa 14:1), and the single use of *ξένος* (Job 31:32).

<sup>31</sup> See GELS 263; Paul Harlé and Didier Pralon, *La Bible d’Alexandrie: Le Lévitique*, Paris, Cerf, 1988, p. 46–47.

<sup>32</sup> See further Walter Bauer, “*προσήλυτος*”, BAGD p. 880; Kuhn, “*προσήλυτος*”, TDNT 6, p. 742–744.

<sup>33</sup> See, e.g., Willoughby C. Allen, “On the Meaning of *προσήλυτος* in the Septuagint”, *The Expositor* 4, 1894, p. 264–275; Kuhn, “*προσήλυτος*”, TDNT, p. 731; James Alfred Loader, “An Explanation of the Term *prosēlytos*”, *NovT* 15, 1973, p. 270–277; Emanuel Tov, “Three Dimensions of LXX Words”, *RB* 83, 1976, p. 529–544, p. 537–538; van Houten, *Alien*, p. 179–183.

Sea Scrolls; specifically, the presence of the gloss in 17:3 4Q26. The evidence of this manuscript suggests that the inclusion of προσήλυτος in 17:3 LXX was no innovation on the part of the Greek translator, but was rather due to the presence of the term גר in the Hebrew *Vorlage* of the LXX. In addition, the idea that προσήλυτος would have meant “convert” when it is used in the LXX is difficult to sustain more generally. As John Lee and José Ramírez Kidd have pointed out, προσήλυτος is employed in a number of texts where the meaning “proselyte” would make little sense, such as Exod 22:20; 23:9; Lev 19:34; and Deut 10:19, where the term denotes the Israelites while they were in Egypt.<sup>34</sup> It is also unclear what would distinguish προσήλυτος from the term γειώρας if the former meant, “proselyte”; γειώρας is used on the two occasions in the HB when a non-Israelite participating member of the cult is implied (Exod 12:19; Isa 14:1).

An alternative explanation for why the gloss was introduced to an earlier Hebrew text of Lev 17:3, of which 4Q26 and LXX are two offshoots, is that there was a growing concern in the Second Temple period to define the extent to which foreigners *living permanently* in Israel were obliged to participate within the Yahwistic cult, and the conditions for their inclusion. This concern can be detected in certain late pentateuchal texts that show a heightened interest in the cultic obligations of the גר who lived as a permanent resident among the Israelites.<sup>35</sup> In the case of Lev 17:3, the concern

<sup>34</sup> See John A. L. Lee, “Equivocal and Stereotyped Renderings in the LXX”, *RB* 87, 1980, p. 104-117, p. 112-113 n. 127; José E. Ramírez Kidd, *Alterity and Identity in Israel: The גר in the Old Testament*, BZAW 283, Berlin/New York, NY, de Gruyter, 1999, p. 119-123.

<sup>35</sup> As shown by Albertz, “Aliens”, p. 63-66, a number of late passages in the book of Numbers show a concern to include the גר in regulations outlining special conditions for celebrating Passover (Num 9:1-14), the cereal and libation offerings that must accompany animal sacrifices (Num 15:1-16), or the punishment for blasphemy (Num 15:30-31). These texts seem to include the immigrant on account of his/her status as a permanent resident in Israel—a status which requires that s/he adhere to the god’s standards for the community. A similar concern can also be detected in the law of the Passover in Exod 12:43-49, which details who among the non-native Israelites may participate in the Passover meal. This law states that the בן-נכר “foreigner”, תושב “sojourner”, and שכיר “hired worker” who re-

might have been that, if immigrants were exempt from the law of Lev 17:3-7, they might have operated butcheries in competition with the central shrine. Perhaps it was thought that the law, as it was worded in the *Vorlage* of 17:3 MT, SP, and 11Q1, left room for the Israelites to exploit a potential loophole in the prohibition of Lev 17:3-4; in that they might have been able to argue that it was not they who were performing the slaughter in a local context but rather the immigrant, acting on their behalf. Such practices would not only have undermined the cultic authority of the prohibition on local slaughter, but also drained the central sanctuary's economic resources; with each **זבח שלמים**, the priests were entitled to a portion of the animal (namely, the right thigh [Lev 7:32]).

Beyond this, there was the further risk that the involvement of immigrants in slaughtering on the Israelites' behalf might have implicated the Israelites in the service of other gods. If the **גרים** worshipped gods other than Yhwh (as Lev 24:15 seems to imply), a portion of the animals they slaughtered might have been presented as offerings to these foreign deities. The person responsible for the gloss at 17:3 might therefore have sensed in the exemption of the **גר** from the prohibition of local butchery a path by which the Israelites might be inadvertently drawn into transgressive behavior. While this argument is speculative, it is given weight by vv. 5-7, which accuse the person who commits local butchery of **זנים אחר** "whoring after" **שעירים** "wild goats" in language that is strongly reminiscent of the terminology of cultic prostitution found elsewhere in the HB. Indeed, the formula occurs frequently in situations in which the Israelites worship foreign gods.<sup>36</sup> This may be why the LXX translates **שעירים** in 17:7 with *ματαιοίς* "empty, vain

sides among the Israelites on a temporary basis may not participate in the Passover meal. However, in the case of a **עבד איש מקנת-כסף** "purchased slave" or **גר** "immigrant"—foreigners who reside permanently among the community—sharing in the meal is permitted, so long as they undergo the rite of circumcision.

<sup>36</sup> See, e.g., Exod 34:15, 16; Lev 20:5-6; Num 15:39; Deut 31:16; Judg 2:17; 8:27, 33; 2 Chr 11:15; Hos 1-4, 9; Jer 2; Ezek 16.



ones", since this term is found elsewhere in the context of idol worship.<sup>37</sup> This is not to say that foreigners in Israel were, in fact, presenting offerings to שְׂעִירִם. There is little evidence to suggest that wild goats were actual objects of veneration in ancient Israel, whether by native Israelites or foreigners living in Israel.<sup>38</sup> The reference to the שְׂעִירִם seems intended to underscore the risk that extrasanctuary slaughter will lead the Israelites to inadvertently offer sacrifices to beings that are associated with the שָׂדֶה "open field" (17:5), and thus with chaotic, non-cultic space. Perhaps this inspired the author of the gloss to associate such a risk with immigrants, given that they were likely to engage in the worship of foreign gods? The inclusion of the גֵּרִים in the prohibition of local slaughter might therefore have been a strategy to strengthen the stated purpose of the law, namely, to prevent the worship of entities other than Yhwh.

Whatever might have been the reasons for including the immigrant in the law, the gloss at Lev 17:3 4Q26 and LXX clearly negates an important distinction in H between native Israelites, who have only one site of butchery (the central shrine), and non-natives, who can butcher their meat elsewhere. In the earliest version of the law, preserved in MT, SP, and 11Q1, the ban on local slaughter serves as an *ethnic marker* that distinguishes native from non-native members of the community.<sup>39</sup> While local butchery is strictly forbidden to the native Israelites, גֵּרִים are effectively permitted to follow local practices for slaughtering their livestock that, we can presume, might have resembled those outlined in Deut 12:13-27. By differentiating between Israelites and גֵּרִים in this way, Lev 17:3 MT, SP, and 11Q1 effectively position the centralization of slaughter as a key marker of the Israelites' unique status before Yhwh. The centralized slaughter of domestic animals at the sanctuary is a behavioral signal of the "covenantal and sacral bond"<sup>40</sup> between the native Israelites and their patron deity. The gloss in 17:3 4Q26 and

<sup>37</sup> See Hos 5:11; Jer 2:5; Amos 2:4; Zech 11:17; see further Harlé and Pralon, *Le Lévitique*, p. 157; Wevers, *Greek Text of Leviticus*, p. 265.

<sup>38</sup> On the character of the שְׂעִירִם, and why they might be mentioned in Lev 17:7, see the detailed discussion in Rhyder, *Centralizing the Cult*, p. 208-214.

<sup>39</sup> As argued by Nihan, "Resident Aliens", p. 124-125.

<sup>40</sup> Nihan, "Resident Aliens", p. 115.



LXX, by contrast, removes this distinction, choosing instead to emphasize the central shrine's total monopoly over *all* acts of slaughter in Israel, regardless of whether it is a native or immigrant who owns the livestock. While the inclusion of the גר in 17:3 4Q26 and LXX introduces redundancy to Lev 17, since now vv. 8-9 basically repeat the law of vv. 3-7, the gloss has the effect of underscoring the sanctuary's claim, when compared to the law in its earlier versions, to be the sole butchery within the community.

#### 4. Implications

The above reading of both the plus and the gloss has a number of implications for how we understand the variation in the witnesses to Lev 17:3-4, and, more generally, the importance of the Dead Sea Scrolls for our interpretation of the opening law of the Holiness legislation. It suggests that, despite Rothstein and Teeter's suggestion to the contrary, there is no evidence in the wording of the gloss or the plus in 4Q26, or in the reception of the latter in TS, that the variation in the wording of this law points to a scribal attempt to soften H's ban of local butchery in light of the conflicting ruling of Deut 12. While harmonization between Lev 17 and Deut 12 can indeed be observed in 11Q19 52:13-21, where the wording of the two laws is combined to establish a compromise solution on the permissibility of local butchery, there is no evidence that either the gloss in 17:3 4Q26 or LXX, or the plus in 17:4 4Q26, LXX, or SP were informed by a similar concern to coordinate H and D's respective rulings. To the contrary, the attempts to clarify, via the plus, the spatial location and sacrifices that must be offered once local slaughter has been outlawed, and to include, in the case of the gloss, immigrants in the ban, only entrench the contrast between the law of Lev 17:3-7 and that of Deut 12:13-27.

The variations in the wording of Lev 17:3-4 all affirm that the basic legislative intent of this law, in all its versions, is to restrict animal slaughter, and all the economic benefits that went with it, to the central shrine and its priesthood. While the ban on local butchery would have almost certainly been impracticable to enforce, and even more so if it included immigrants as well as native

Israelites, the scribes who transmitted this law seem not to have been concerned to address the issue of how it might be applied in Israel. They were focused only on stressing the total inadequacy of all forms of non-cultic slaughter when compared to the ritual sacrifice of livestock at Yhwh's central altar.<sup>41</sup> The reception of the law in 11Q19 52:13-21 suggests that it was effective in positioning local butchery in a significantly inferior position to centralized slaughter. While the author of *TS* interpreted Lev 17 in such a way that toned down its ban, in light of Deut 12:13-27, he nonetheless affirmed the need to prioritize travel to the central sanctuary and the offering of sacrifices as often as was feasible.<sup>42</sup> Evidently, the law of Lev 17:3-4, in all its versions, made a powerful case for why slaughter and sacrifice performed at a central shrine should be considered vastly superior to any form of butchery that bypasses sanctuary space and centralized authority.

<sup>41</sup> On the issue of the impracticability of Lev 17:3-7, see Julia Rhyder, "Ritual Text and Ritual Practice: Some Remarks on Extrasanctuary Slaughter in Leviticus", in *Rites aux Portes*, ed. Patrick M. Michel, Bern, Peter Lang, 2018, p. 13-21.

<sup>42</sup> The totalizing ban of Lev 17:3-4 may even have already influenced the wording of certain late verses in Deut 12 (namely vv. 20-27) which, as I have discussed in detail in Rhyder, *Centralizing*, 224-235 seem to mitigate between Lev 17:3-4 and Deut 12:13-19 by introducing a limited spatial restriction on local butchery. Nevertheless, the mediating position of 11Q19 52:13-21 goes further than Deut 12:13-19, insofar as it blends the laws of Lev 17 and Deut 12 to form a new, composite law, and sets more concrete restrictions on the distance one must live from the temple to be permitted to practice local butchery.

# La fonction de l'arche dans les textes de Qumrân et les spéculations sur son destin dans des textes juifs et chrétiens

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**Abstract.** *This article focuses on the reception of the Ark in Qumranian literature. Although the Ark “disappeared” during the Second Temple period, some authors attribute new functions to it. The Ark thus appears in the Reworked Pentateuch with an article, unlike the Masoretic text, probably to show its uniqueness. In 4Q522, in an eschatological context, during the construction of a new temple, the importance of David and his son are underlined. The authors of the Temple Scroll also thought that the Ark is part of the ideal sanctuary. In the Apocryphon of Moses, where it is associated with the “secret things,” it may participate in a divinatory ritual. In the Damascus Document, the Ark contains the scroll rather than the tables of the Law and Zadoq is its gardian. All these reinterpretations of the Ark continue after Qumran, as in Christianity, where the Ark is sometimes associated with Mary, or in the Kebra Nagast, which develops the idea that the Ark was brought to Ethiopia.*

Il est difficile de trouver un sujet lié à Qumrân qui n’a pas été traité par Georges Brooke<sup>1</sup>. Il me semble que la question de la fonction de l’arche de Yhwh dans les textes de Qumrân pourrait entrer dans cette catégorie et c’est avec beaucoup de plaisir et de reconnaissance que je lui offre ces quelques réflexions.

<sup>1</sup> Je renonce ici à une bibliographie qui remplirait des pages. George Brooke est certainement un des chercheurs les plus prolifiques sur les textes de Qumrân.

## L'arche dans les textes dits « para-bibliques »

L'arche est mentionnée dans le « *reworked Pentateuch* », dans les manuscrits 4Q 364 et 4Q 365.

On trouve, dans ces manuscrits, la reprise d'Ex 26,33-35 (4Q 364 f. 17), voire d'Ex 26,34-36 (4Q 365 f. 8a+b) sans différences majeures par rapport au texte massorétique. Ce passage relate l'équipement du sanctuaire et la fixation du propitiatoire (*hakkapporet*) sur l'arche du témoignage.

La seule différence vis-à-vis de l'arche est l'ajout de l'article à l'arche : *h'rn h'dwt*, ce qui provoque une construction grammaticale un peu curieuse, qui est, cependant, aussi attestée en Jos 3,14 : הָאָרוֹן הַבְּרִית. On pourrait imaginer que l'on ait ajouté l'article pour insister sur le fait qu'il s'agit d'une seule arche et non de plusieurs, une idée que l'on trouve déjà dans des commentaires rabbiniques, mais aussi dans l'exégèse récente, laquelle a imaginé, à partir des différents noms de l'arche, l'existence de plusieurs sanctuaires mobiles.

4Q 364 f. 26 b et e combinent Dt 10,1-4 et des extraits de Dt 9,18.25-26<sup>2</sup>. La ligne 6 qui mentionne l'arche est une reprise du discours divin ordonnant à Moïse de placer dans l'arche les nouvelles tables de la loi. Le rapport d'exécution de Moïse en 10,3 est en partie perdu ; est lisible le *waw* qui introduit le premier mot de Dt 10,3 : « et [je fis une arche en bois d'acacia...]. Entre le début de la reprise du v. 3 et la fin du v. 2, il y a une lacune. On peut ainsi spéculer sur le fait que l'arche, dans le texte de Qumrân, avait un qualificatif, contrairement au texte massorétique.

L'arche de l'alliance ou du témoignage (selon la terminologie sacerdotale) figure peut-être dans le fragment 9 de 4Q 522 selon la reconstruction d'E. Puech :

<sup>2</sup> Molly M. Zahn, *Rethinking Rewritten Scriptures: Composition and Exegesis in the 4Q Reworked Pentateuch Manuscripts*, *Studies on the texts of the Desert of Judah* 95, Leiden, Brill, 2011, p. 92-93.

« no[us] n'[avons] pas [pu entre]r [à Si]on pour y installer la tente de la renc[ontre et l'arche de l'alliance/du témoignage jusqu'à la fin des] temps car voici (qu')un fils naîtra à Jessé »<sup>3</sup>.

Ces fragments soulignent l'importance de David et de son fils qui doivent construire le temple et transférer le tabernacle (et l'arche à Jérusalem). Le passage ci-dessus fait sans doute allusion à la fin du livre de Josué qui relate l'installation de la tente de la rencontre (sans mentionner l'arche) au sanctuaire de Shiloh<sup>4</sup>.

### L'arche dans le Rouleau du Temple

Dans le rouleau du temple, auquel la communauté de Qumrân donna apparemment une dignité égale à celle des textes du Pentateuque, l'arche apparaît dans la description de l'aménagement du sanctuaire qui s'inspire d'Ex 25-26 et de 1 R 6-8 :

« sa hauteur, et le propitiatoire qui (est) par des [sus ... 10 ...] sa largeur, et deux chérubins [... 11 ...] un second à l'(autre) extrémité, étendant (leurs) ailes [... 12...] au-dessus de l'arche et leurs visages [... 13...] vacat<sup>5</sup> »

Pour ce rouleau, qui est conçu comme « torah », l'arche fait donc partie de l'équipement du Saint des saints. S'agit-il seulement de la description du « premier » sanctuaire ou bien les auteurs pensent-ils à un sanctuaire eschatologique « pour des temps où les principes esséniens auront triomphé »<sup>6</sup>, bien que ne soit pas claire la

<sup>3</sup> Emile Puech, *Qumrân Grotte 4. XVIII, Textes hébreux (4Q521-4Q528, 4Q576-4Q579)*, Discoveries in the Judean Desert XXV, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1998, 56.

<sup>4</sup> Emmanuel Tov, « Rewritten Book of Joshua as Found at Qumran and Masada », in *Biblical Perspectives: Early Use and Interpretation of the Bible in Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls. Proceedings of the First International Symposium of the Orion Center. 12-14 May 1996*, éd. par Michael E. Stone et Esther G. Chazon, Leiden, Brill, 1998, p. 233-256.

<sup>5</sup> Traduction d'André Caquot, « Le rouleau du temple de Qoumrân », *ETR* 53, 1978, p. i-viii et 1-50, p. 4.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid, p. vii.

façon dont l'auteur du Rouleau du Temple envisageait le changement religieux et politique auquel il aspirait ? Si c'est le cas, l'auteur ne serait pas sur la même ligne que Jr 3,16 qui insiste sur la disparition définitive de l'arche (cf. ci-dessous). Le Rouleau du Temple témoignerait donc d'une nostalgie de l'arche, voire de l'idée selon laquelle elle devrait figurer dans le sanctuaire idéal.

### L'arche et les « choses cachées »

L'arche apparaît encore dans 4Q 375 (« l'apocryphe de Moïse<sup>a</sup> »). La première colonne définit les critères servant à distinguer le vrai du faux prophète qui s'inspirent surtout de Dt 13 et 18, alors que la deuxième colonne contient un rituel qui est clairement influencé par Lv 16.

Le prêtre s'approchera « 7 de l'enceinte [du voile et se plac]era près de l'arche du témoignage. Là il cherchera tou[tes les lois ?] de Yhwh, qui sont ca[ch]ées à vos yeux ».

Contrairement au TM de Lv 16,2, qui parle seulement de l'arche, 4Q 375 précise « arche du témoignage ». Or, le même terme se trouve dans la version grecque de Lv 16,2 (ἐπὶ τῆς κιβωτοῦ τοῦ μαρτυρίου). On pourrait donc imaginer que l'auteur de 4Q 375 avait comme *Vorlage* un texte hébreu correspondant à celle du texte qumrânien. Il est difficile de décider si l'arche est ici simplement mentionnée en tant que « mobilier du sanctuaire » ou si elle joue un rôle plus spécifique. On peut en effet souligner que le prêtre doit se placer près de l'arche du témoignage pour étudier la loi et chercher les choses cachées (ce vocabulaire fait défaut en Lv 16). Les *nstrwt* font-elles allusion à la loi « cachée » dans l'arche ? L'expression *drš h-twrh* (qui trouve son origine dans les livres d'Esdras et des Chroniques) est fréquente dans la littérature qumrânienne qui connaît aussi l'office d'un *doresh hat-torah*. Le fait cependant que cette recherche de la Torah soit effectuée par le (grand) Prêtre et dans le cadre d'un rituel qui apparemment a lieu devant l'arche dans le Saint des Saints « differs from the regular routine of expounding ... being an unusual event »<sup>7</sup>.

<sup>7</sup> Gershon Brin, *Studies in Biblical Law: From the Hebrew Bible to the Dead Sea Scrolls*, JSOT.S 176, Sheffield, JSOT Press, 1994, p. 153.

L'idée selon laquelle les « choses cachées » appartiennent à Yhwh se trouve déjà en Dt 29,28 (הַסֵּתֶרֶת לַיהוָה). Dans le Siracide les « choses cachées » sont également réservées à Yhwh et à ceux qui sont habilités à les révéler (Sir 42,19 ; 48,20-25). Il est donc possible que l'étude des choses cachées qui se trouvent peut-être dans l'arche fasse allusion à la capacité du prêtre, via un rituel, d'interpréter la loi afin de décider si le prophète en question, dont parle la colonne 1, est un « faux » ou un « vrai » prophète<sup>8</sup>. L'arche qui contient apparemment la loi et, en même temps, les choses cachées (l'interprétation de la loi qui ne va pas de soi), donne ainsi au prêtre les fondements de sa recherche.

## L'arche dans l'Écrit de Damas

L'arche apparaît finalement dans l'Écrit de Damas dans un passage sur David, CD V<sup>9</sup> :

**1** Et ceux qui entrèrent dans l'arche (*htbh*), deux à deux ils entrèrent dans l'arche (*htbh*). Et au sujet du prince il est écrit : **2** Il ne multipliera pas pour lui des femmes. Quant à David, il n'avait pas lu dans le livre de la Torah scellé qui **3** était dans l'arche (*rwn*) car il ne fut pas ouvert en Israël depuis le jour de la mort d'Éléazar et Josué (*Yhwš*) **4** et Josué (*Ywš*) et les anciens qui ont servi les Ashtarôt (*Ashtaret* ?). Et ce qui a été dissimulé **5** ce qui a été révélé jusqu'à l'avènement de Sadoq. Alors les œuvres de David furent élevées à l'exception du sang d'Urie. **6** Mais Dieu (*ʾl*) lui les (= ses actions) abandonna (= les pardonna). D'ailleurs ils rendent impur le sanctuaire : ils ne font pas **7** la distinction selon la Torah et ils couchent avec celle qui voit le sang de son flux, et ils prennent **8** chacun la fille de son frère ou la fille de sa sœur.

<sup>8</sup> Voir aussi Ibid, p. 155-156.

<sup>9</sup> La traduction se fonde sur celle de David Hamidovic, *L'Écrit de Damas : le manifeste essénien*, Collection de la Revue des Études Juives 51, Louvain, Peeters, 2011, p. 31, avec quelques modifications.

Ce passage se situe dans un contexte dans lequel l'auteur dénonce les trois filets des fils de Bélial : « prostitution » (*hzwnt*), la richesse et l'impureté du sanctuaire (IV,16-17). Dans la suite, deux de ces trois filets sont repris et explicités : la « prostitution » en IV,20-V,2a où l'on fustige la polygamie en citant des textes bibliques en faveur de la monogamie (Gn 1,17 ; 7,9 ; Dt 17,17) et, ensuite, « la souillure du sanctuaire » en V,6b-13a, où sont dénoncés des rapports sexuels interdits en Lv 18<sup>10</sup>. Entre ces deux passages se trouve un traité sur David et l'arche qui a toutes les chances d'avoir été inséré après coup puisqu'il interrompt l'argumentation sur les deux filets dans laquelle V,2 est logiquement suivi par V,6b<sup>11</sup>.

Apparemment, cette insertion sur David a été provoquée par la citation de Dt 17,17 qui interdit au roi d'avoir de nombreuses femmes, prescription que David n'a nullement respectée.

Cette insertion trouve une explication intéressante à la « transgression » de David, car elle explique que David n'avait pas accès à la Torah que, selon Dt 17,18-19, chaque roi est censé recopier et lire. On apprend en effet que le livre de la loi était scellé (*ḥtwm*). L'arche dans laquelle ce livre se trouvait n'aurait pas été ouverte depuis la mort d'Éléazar jusqu'à l'arrivée de Sadoq.

Ce passage innove par rapport aux discours vétérotestamentaires sur l'arche puisqu'il explique que c'est le livre de la loi qui se trouve dans l'arche et non pas les deux tables de pierre, ce qui est affirmé par la tradition dtr. L'idée selon laquelle le *spr* se trouve dans l'arche est peut-être inspirée par Dt 31,9 et 24-26 :

**9** Moïse écrivit cette loi et la donna aux prêtres, fils de Lévi, qui portent l'arche de l'alliance de Yhwh, et à tous les anciens d'Israël.

**24** Et quand Moïse eut fini d'écrire entièrement les paroles de cette loi dans un livre, **25** il ordonna aux Lévites qui portent l'arche de l'alliance de Yhwh : **26** « Prenez ce livre de la loi et mettez-le à côté de l'arche

<sup>10</sup> La « richesse » n'est pas reprise dans la suite, cf. Peter Porzig, *Die Lade Jahwes im Alten Testament und in den Texten vom Toten Meer*, BZAW 397, Berlin, de Gruyter, 2009, p. 267.

<sup>11</sup> Voir aussi Ottilie Johanna Renata Schwarz, *Der erste Teil der Damaskusschrift und das Alte Testament*, Diest, Lichtland, 1965, p. 141.



de l'alliance de Yhwh votre Dieu (וְשִׁמְתֶם אֹתוֹ מִצֵּד אֲרֹן בְּרִית־יְהוָה); il sera là comme un témoin contre toi ».

L'idée selon laquelle la loi se trouve « à côté » de l'arche n'est pas très claire. Elle a pu faire penser que le rouleau de la loi était en fait dans l'arche (dans ce sens aussi Maïmonide, *Mishneh Torah* ad Dt 31,26).

L'affirmation que l'arche était restée fermée depuis la mort d'Éléazar (et de Josué) jusqu'à l'époque de Sadoq s'inspire très probablement d'une finale de Jos 24 qui n'est pas retenue dans le TM mais qui se trouve en Jos 24 LXX :

**33** Et il arriva après cela [= la mort de Josué et l'ensevelissement des ossements de Joseph] que le grand prêtre Éléazar, fils d'Aaron, mourut et il fut enseveli à Gabaath de Phinees son fils, ... **33a** En ce jour-là les fils d'Israël prenant le coffre de Dieu le firent circuler parmi eux (ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ λαβόντες οἱ υἱοὶ Ἰσραὴλ τὴν κιβωτὸν τοῦ θεοῦ περιεφέρονταν ἐν ἑαυτοῖς) et Phinees devint prêtre à la place d'Éléazar ... **33b** Alors les fils d'Israël s'en allèrent chacun vers son lieu et vers sa ville. Et les fils d'Israël révérèrent Astarté et les Astarôth et les dieux des nations autour d'eux ...<sup>12</sup>

La présence de l'arche, d'Éléazar, des Ashtarôt en Jos 24,33b LXX et en CD V,2-6 rend assez plausible le fait que l'auteur de l'insertion du passage sur David ait connu la *Vorlage* hébraïque de Jos 24 LXX<sup>13</sup>.

Que l'arche soit restée fermée et donc aussi l'accès à la loi de Yhwh est expliqué par le fait que, entre la mort d'Éléazar et l'arrivée de Sadoq, les Israélites vénéraient d'autres dieux et ne respectaient donc pas le livre de la Torah. Cette idée d'une vacance de l'accès à la loi a un certain parallèle en 2 R 22,23<sup>14</sup> où l'on imagine

<sup>12</sup> Traduction de Jacqueline Moatti-Fine, *La Bible d'Alexandrie. Traduction du texte grec de la Septante. La Bible d'Alexandrie VI. Jésus (Josué)*, Paris, Cerf, 1997, p. 239-240.

<sup>13</sup> Alexandre Rofé, « The End of the Book of Joshua According to the Septuagint », *Hen* 4, 1982, p. 17-36, p. 28-29 ; cf. aussi Birgit Lucassen, « Josua, Richter und CD », *Revue de Qumran* 18, 1998, p. 373-396, p. 379.

<sup>14</sup> « On n'avait pas célébré une telle Pâque depuis le temps où les Juges avaient gouverné Israël et durant tout le temps des rois d'Israël et des rois de Juda ».

également que la loi était devenue « inaccessible » à partir de l'époque des Juges. Mais alors qu'en 2 R 23 le temps sans le livre de la loi dure jusqu'à Josias, en CD V, il se termine avec Sadoq qui est très probablement le prêtre de David et de Salomon<sup>15</sup>. Selon 1 Ch 15, c'est Sadoq qui est, avec Abiatar et les Lévites, responsable du transport de l'arche à Jérusalem :

**11** David appela les prêtres Sadoq et Abiatar, et les Lévites ... **12** Et il leur dit : « Vous êtes les chefs des familles lévétiques. Sanctifiez-vous, vous et vos frères, et faites monter l'arche de Yhwh, le Dieu d'Israël, vers le lieu que j'ai fixé pour elle. »

C'est peut-être ce passage, sans parallèle en 2 Sam 6, qui a inspiré l'auteur de CD V,5<sup>16</sup>, ainsi que le fait que les dirigeants des Esséniens en CD se nomment « fils de Sadoq » (CD IV,3).

En résumé, CD V fait du prêtre Sadoq le gardien de l'arche et donne à l'arche une nouvelle fonction ; elle garde le rouleau de la Torah et elle peut rester fermée durant les temps de l'apostasie.

Ce petit parcours sur l'arche dans la littérature qumrânienne fait apparaître que celle-ci, bien que « disparue » à l'époque du Second Temple, continue à inspirer de nombreux auteurs qui lui attribuent même de nouvelles fonctions.

## De l'arche cachée à l'arche en Éthiopie

On ne sait pas ce qui advint de l'arche au moment de la destruction du Temple par les Babyloniens – la Bible hébraïque ne donne pas d'indications quant au destin de l'arche. Seul un texte nous éclaire sur des discussions par rapport à une reconstruction de l'arche à l'époque babylonienne ou perse. On trouve, dans le livre de Jérémie, un texte qui refuse catégoriquement l'idée d'une reconstruction de l'arche :

<sup>15</sup> David Hamidovic, *L'Écrit de Damas : le manifeste essénien*, p. 31, n.7.

<sup>16</sup> James C. VanderKam, « Zaodk and the *spr htwrh hḥtwm* in Dam.Doc. V,2-5 », *RdO* 11, 1984, p. 561-570, p. 569.

**16** Lorsque vous serez devenus nombreux et aurez eu des enfants dans le pays, alors, déclare Yhwh, on ne parlera plus de l'arche de l'alliance de Yhwh. Elle ne viendra plus à la pensée, on ne se souviendra plus d'elle, on ne s'apercevra plus de son absence et l'on n'en fera pas une autre. **17** À ce moment-là, on appellera Jérusalem « trône de Yhwh ». Toutes les nations s'assembleront à Jérusalem au nom de Yhwh, et elles ne suivront plus les penchants de leur cœur mauvais (Jr 3).

L'interdit de refaire l'arche indique que pour l'auteur de ce passage l'arche posait un problème théologique peut-être parce qu'elle a été trop liée à un sanctuaire portable contenant une statue de Yhwh. Pour cette raison l'oracle substitue la cité de Jérusalem à l'arche, dans sa fonction de trône de Yhwh. Ainsi Jérusalem dans sa totalité devient le « trône » du dieu d'Israël, le centre du monde<sup>17</sup>.

On peut supposer que durant la période du Second Temple elle fut remplacée par la *Menora*, une autre manière de symboliser la présence divine.

Cependant le passage de 2 Macc 2,4-8 raconte, en se référant à un écrit (la Lettre de Jérémie ?) que l'arche aurait été cachée par Jérémie, le seul prophète qui en parle dans la BH, ensemble avec la tente de la rencontre et l'autel des parfums :

**4** Dans cet écrit, il était raconté que le prophète, averti par un oracle, se fit accompagner par la tente et l'arche, qu'il se rendit à la montagne où Moïse était monté et d'où il avait contemplé le patrimoine de Dieu **5** et que, arrivé là, Jérémie trouva une habitation en forme de grotte, y introduisit la tente, l'arche et l'autel des parfums, après quoi il en obstrua l'entrée. **6** Quelques-uns de ses compagnons voulurent s'y rendre pour marquer le chemin par des signes, mais ils ne purent le retrouver. **7** Ayant appris cela, Jérémie les blâma en leur disant : « Ce lieu restera inconnu jusqu'à ce que Dieu ait accompli le rassemblement de son peuple et lui ait manifesté sa miséricorde. **8**

<sup>17</sup> Pour plus de détails sur ce texte cf. Thomas Römer, « Jeremiah and the Ark », in *Jeremiah in History and Tradition*, éd. par Jim West et Niels Peters Lemche, Copenhagen International Seminar, London-New York, Routledge, 2019, p. 60-70.

Alors le Seigneur montrera de nouveau ces objets, et la gloire du Seigneur apparaîtra avec la Nuée, comme elle se montra au temps de Moïse et lorsque Salomon pria pour que le saint lieu fût glorieusement consacré. »

Selon ce texte, l'arche n'est donc pas perdue, mais elle réapparaîtra à un moment eschatologique lorsque Yhwh aura rassemblé son peuple.

Cette idée se trouve par exemple dans l'Apocalypse de Jean. Selon ce texte l'arche fait partie du Temple céleste et apparaît à la fin des temps (après la 7<sup>e</sup> plaie) :

Ap 11,19 : Et le temple de Dieu dans le ciel s'ouvrit, et l'arche de l'alliance apparut dans son temple. Alors il y eut des éclairs, des voix, des tonnerres, un tremblement de terre et une forte grêle.

Puisqu'ensuite est donné le signe de la femme vêtue du soleil (12,1), la tradition chrétienne a établi un lien entre Marie et l'arche. La collection de textes apocryphes appelés « *Transitus Mariae* » (v<sup>e</sup> s.) raconte l'Assomption de Marie<sup>18</sup>. Il y est fait référence à l'arche : pendant que les apôtres portaient le corps de Marie, les mains de ceux qui voulurent offenser Marie devinrent sèches, comme fut puni dans le récit du transfert de l'arche celui qui la toucha sans être qualifié (2 S 6,6-7).

La disparition de l'arche a ensuite donné lieu à toutes sortes de spéculations. Dans les Hadiths on trouve l'idée que l'arche aurait été cachée dans le lac de Tibériade.

Une théorie très populaire et des plus connues est celle du transfert de l'arche en Éthiopie. La première mise par écrit de cette tradition se trouve dans le *Kebra Nagast* (livre de *la Gloire des Rois*), datant du xiv<sup>e</sup> siècle, mais certains spécialistes pensent que la tradition est plus ancienne. Celle-ci se base sur le texte biblique de la visite de la reine de Saba chez Salomon (1 R 10) en identifiant Saba à l'Éthiopie (alors qu'il s'agit plutôt du royaume de Saba en Arabie,

<sup>18</sup> Pour ce texte cf. Simon Claude Mimouni, *Les traditions anciennes sur la Dormition et l'Assomption de Marie. Études littéraires, historiques et doctrinales*, SVigChr 104, Leiden / Boston, Brill, 2011.

le Yémen actuel). Selon le *Kebra Nagast*, la reine de Saba tomba enceinte de Salomon et enfanta à son tour Ménélik (« fils du sage »). Lorsqu'il devient adulte, Ménélik apprend qui est son père et rend visite à Salomon. Ménélik ne veut pas rester en Israël pour devenir le successeur de Salomon, alors celui-ci le fait oindre roi de l'Éthiopie par le prêtre Sadoq. Salomon demande aux fils de ses généraux et prêtres d'accompagner Ménélik en Éthiopie pour y rester ; les jeunes gens ne sont pas contents, et Azariah, le fils de Sadoq ne veut se séparer de l'arche. Il fait alors une copie et échange celle-ci contre la vraie arche qui est amenée en Éthiopie. Lorsque Ménélik apprend cela, il est heureux, car maintenant les Éthiopiens sont devenus le peuple élu de Dieu, et les rois éthiopiens les successeurs des rois d'Israël et de Juda.

Cette théorie de l'arche en Éthiopie hante les esprits jusqu'à Indiana Jones ; même Hitler aurait demandé à ses généraux lors de l'invasion de l'Éthiopie de chercher l'arche perdue<sup>19</sup>.

<sup>19</sup> Phyllis Enstrom et Peet J. Van Dyk, « What happened to the Ark ? », *Religion and Theology* 4/1, 1997, p. 50-60, p. 53

# Insights from Qumran for the Exegesis of Scripture in the Gospel of Matthew

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**Résumé.** Dans cet article, les techniques d'interprétation de l'Écriture mises en œuvre dans les Rouleaux de la Mer morte, exemplifiées à partir du Rouleau du Temple (11QTa) et du Pesher d'Habaq (1QpHab), sont employées pour étudier les citations de l'Écriture dans l'Évangile de Matthieu, chapitres 1-2. Les résultats de cette enquête offrent des interprétations plus nuancées de l'usage des Écritures par le Nouveau Testament ; ils ont également des implications pour la compréhension de la pratique scribale de l'auteur de cet Évangile.

The early study of the Dead Sea Scrolls focussed largely on the so-called sectarian scrolls, the previously unknown texts that share an outlook and vocabulary that indicate a relationship with the community of the Damascus Document and what is known about the Essenes. First energies were largely devoted to understanding the community of the Scrolls, in which the manuscripts were mines for possible historical identification. Studies on biblical interpretation were rare, William Brownlee among the few who showed early interest. The 1985 publication of George Brooke's Claremont thesis as *Exegesis at Qumran*,<sup>1</sup> however, brought focus to the contribution of the Scrolls for understanding early Jewish biblical interpretation. Brooke argued that "exegetical techniques akin to those set out in various lists of rabbinic *middot* were used widely..."<sup>2</sup> His study of 4QFlorilegium demonstrated the ways in which the later, developed hermeneutical rules of the rabbis can be seen to be in use, though not codified, in the literature of the Second Temple period.

<sup>1</sup> George Brooke, *Exegesis at Qumran: 4QFlorilegium in its Jewish Context*, Sheffield, SAP, 1985.

<sup>2</sup> Brooke, *Exegesis at Qumran*, p. 2.

My own research has focussed in this area, beginning with my work on the Temple Scroll (11QT<sup>a</sup>).<sup>3</sup> The thrust of that study was to show that the Temple Scroll (TS) “rewrites” Torah by a careful interweaving of “biblical” texts.<sup>4</sup> It is an extension of “inner-biblical exegesis” on a grand scale,<sup>5</sup> and it is interpretative. These are the four primary interpretative techniques identified in the TS:<sup>6</sup>

1. The use of a *base text*, which is the text being interpreted.
2. The author’s interpretation of the base text is revealed in the re-working of the text, by means of omission (minuses), addition (pluses), substitution, different word-order, and notably by interweaving portions of *secondary* or *supplementary* texts.
3. Methods of textual manipulation include: word-form insertion; key-word link; signalling use of a secondary text by allusion in advance; developing the same base text multiple times.
4. Unattributable material (i.e., not from a “biblical” source) within a citation is the creative new ground of the new context, and reveals the particular viewpoint of the author.

The final conclusion to my TS study was that the TS is commentary on Scripture. This is overstating the case to emphasise that various forms of intertextual activity are found in Second Temple period literature, and exemplified among the DSS, which highlight the extent to which any new text has to legitimize its case by reference to Scripture and/or common authoritative texts.<sup>7</sup> To these might be added a further observation: the secondary and supplementary texts that are woven in and alluded to within the base text *are not*

<sup>3</sup> Dwight D. Swanson, *The Temple Scroll and the Bible: The Methodology of 11QT*, Leiden, Brill, 1995.

<sup>4</sup> It is not germane to this study to discuss the nature of “rewritten Bible”. What is under scrutiny here is the micro-compositional techniques, rather than the larger composition.

<sup>5</sup> Michael Fishbane, *Biblical Interpretation in Ancient Israel*, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1985, was published just shortly before I began my research.

<sup>6</sup> Swanson, *The Temple Scroll and the Bible*, p. 228-232. This is the specific vocabulary developed in the study.

<sup>7</sup> Terms such as “biblical” or “authoritative” have been found inadequate for describing the texts we recognize as Bible, and so “Scripture” will be used here, in keeping with current convention.

*treated atomistically*,<sup>8</sup> that is, the contexts of the secondary material are pertinent to understanding the interpretation of the author/editor. They fill out and direct the new interpretation.

Interest in the interpretation of the Bible in the New Testament has now become something of a growth industry.<sup>9</sup> Attention tends to be given to identifying the biblical text, and then to the theology of the use of the biblical text. However, it is arguable that sufficient attention has not been given in these studies to the clues that may be found in the exegetical techniques used in the DSS. It is the intention of this paper to illustrate how the interpretative working of the Scriptures found in the Temple Scroll, and other Scroll texts, may also be seen in New Testament use of Scripture—and how recognition of these techniques may assist the modern reader in understanding the exegetical purposes of the NT writers. To do this we will look at some examples of Qumran biblical interpretation, then turn the same lens on the Gospel of Matthew for comparison.

## 1. Exegetical Examples

### 1.1 The Temple Scroll

The example selected here is useful as a single, relatively compact and complete passage that exhibits each of the main techniques described above.

#### **11QT 49:5-10**

Columns 48-51 of the Temple Scroll contain what is called the “Purity Law”. This new section follows the instructions for the construction of the courts of the Temple. The final portion of that section prescribes measures for the ritual protection of the sanctuary

<sup>8</sup> This does not apply to the *pesharim* and their care for the Scriptural text alongside a disregard for its first context.

<sup>9</sup> Notably Steve Moyise’s series of books beginning with *The Old Testament in the New: An Introduction*, London, Continuum, 2001.



and courts (cols. 45-47). The last extant lines are concerned with the purity of animals slaughtered in the sanctuary, and specify that any skins brought into the premises are to be slaughtered according to these purity laws. By the first extant lines of col. 48 the focus has shifted from the Temple—which has been the sole focus of the Scroll thus far—to purity laws for the Land, bringing together the pertinent matter from Deut 14 and Lev 11-15.

The portion that we look at here is the beginning of a new subsection that finds its base in Num 19. Lines 1-4 completed discussion of the purification of lepers. Line 5 is clearly a new paragraph using Num 19:14 to address the impurity of the house in which someone has died. We will look at lines 5-10 to illustrate the ways in which Scripture is used not only to interpret Scripture, but to extend the significance of Scripture to new settings.

Numbers 19:14-15 introduces the law when someone dies “in a tent”. Everyone who comes into contact with the tent is unclean for seven days; and all open vessels become unclean. The *TS* elaborates this law extensively in these columns, extending impurity to the house (instead of tent) and to foodstuffs, particularly moist food, as well.

11QT49:5-6a:

ואדם כי ימות בעריכמה כול בית אשר ימות בו המת יטמא  
/שבעת ימים/

And when a man dies in your cities, every house in which the dead person died will be unclean seven days

Num 19:14:

זאת התורה אדם כי ימות בִּתְּנֵי כָּל־הָבָא אֶל־הָאֵהָל וְכָל־אֲשֶׁר בָּאֵהָל יִטְמָא שִׁבְעַת יָמִים:

This is the law when someone dies in a tent: everyone who comes into the tent, and everyone who is in the tent, shall be unclean seven days.  
(NRS)

In this line there are two significant substitutions in the *TS*. The first is the substitution of “in your cities” for “in a tent”. On one

hand, this is in keeping with the transference of the legislation for the wilderness to the urban setting of the Scroll. This is not a unique extension of the principle—the Greek text reads οἰκία for “tent” in each instance. On the other hand, the *TS* makes this a general principle applicable to all cities.

The second substitution shifts the attention in Numbers on the uncleanness of the people in the tent to that of the house itself.<sup>10</sup> The Num 19:14 phrase, כּוֹל הַבַּיִת, does not occur until the following line, and is repeated in lines 16-17—where attention to the people is taken up. The substituted phrase, “and house in which the dead person died will be unclean”, however, is very close to the wording and subject matter of CD 12:17-18, where every utensil “which is with a dead person in the house will be unclean” (אֲשֶׁר יְהִי עִם הַמֵּת (בְּבֵית וְטִמָּא)). This connection gives us a strong textual link to a “non-biblical” text, used as a source for interpretation due to a shared concern for objects in the house of a corpse.<sup>11</sup> Schiffman attributes this concern to Num 19:18, in which the tent is sprinkled as well as people and objects in the tent.<sup>12</sup> To summarize, the Bible is not explicit enough in its ruling on the uncleanness of the tent, so the *TS* make things explicit.

11QT 49:6-7a

כּוֹל אֲשֶׁר בְּבֵית וְכוֹל הַבַּיִת אֵל הַבַּיִת יִטְמָא שִׁבְעַת יָמִים

Everyone who [is] in a house and everyone who comes to the house will be unclean seven days.

Num 19:14

כָּל־הַבָּא אֶל־הָאֹהֶל וְכָל־אֲשֶׁר בָּאֹהֶל יִטְמָא שִׁבְעַת יָמִים

All that/who come into the tent and all that/who are in the tent will be unclean seven days. (NRS)

<sup>10</sup> Swanson, *The Temple Scroll and the Bible*, p. 185.

<sup>11</sup> Whether the *TS* is “citing” the Damascus Document is another discussion.

<sup>12</sup> Lawrence Schiffman, *The Courtyards of the House of the Lord*, ed. Florentino Garcia Martinez, Leiden, Brill, 2008, p. 408.

The Hebrew text leaves ambiguous whether כּוֹל should refer to people or things. The NRSV settles the ambiguity by translating 19:14 in both places as “everyone”. Likewise, by insertion of the phrase focussing on the house in the previous line, and now by reversing the order of the phrases from Numbers’ word order (not found in any versions), the *TS* appears to view both these phrases as referring to people.<sup>13</sup>

What is notable for our purposes (use of Scripture to interpret Scripture) is the way in which the *reversal of the Numbers phrase order* reduces the ambiguity of the biblical text.

11QT 49:7b-8a

וכול אוכל אשר יוצק עליו מ[י]ם יטמא כול המושקה/ יטמא

And all food upon which water is poured will be unclean, all *drink* will be unclean.

Lev 11:34

מִכָּל־הָאֲכָל אֲשֶׁר יֹאכַל אֲשֶׁר יִבּוֹא עָלָיו מִיֵּם יִטְמָא וְכָל־מִשְׁקָהּ אֲשֶׁר יִשְׁתֶּה בְּכֵל־כָּלִי יִטְמָא:

Any food that could be eaten shall be unclean if water ... comes upon it; and any liquid that could be drunk shall be unclean if it was in any ... vessel. (NRS)

Now we come to an example of a primary way the *TS* interprets its text—the interweaving of a secondary text with the base text to create, via this rewritten Torah, a new or freshly interpreted text. Numbers 19 is the base text for cols. 49-50, on the subject of purification by means of the ashes of the red heifer. Numbers 19 addresses corpse contamination incurred by the person touching a dead human body, and by the dwelling of the deceased. The *TS* expands this considerably, returning to Num 19:14 repeatedly (11QT 49:5, 16, 21; 50:7, 11, 13) in combination with subjects of impurity

<sup>13</sup> Schiffman, *Courtyards*, p. 410 argues this to be the case, and reads Yadin as saying the same, even though Yigael Yadin, *The Temple Scroll*, Jerusalem, Israel Exploration Society, 1983, 2:213 translates “everything in the house and everyone who comes into the house”.

as found in Lev 11-15, to extend the aspects of contamination treatable by the ashes of the red heifer, e.g., a dead foetus, vessels and objects in the house, dead creatures.

In these lines, any food in the house of the dead person upon which water was poured, and liquids, are unclean, as well as the earthen vessels that contained liquids. The rationale for this is found in Lev 11.

Lev 11:34 is used selectively. Two phrases are omitted: the redundant “which was [could be] eaten”; and the phrase “which they may drink from any vessel”, which focusses on the drinking vessels. By deleting the reference to drinking, the *TS* makes the command apply to any food and any drink.<sup>14</sup>

The *TS* reads יצק “pour” for the Lev 11 יביא “comes”. The phrase, “which is poured upon” is found elsewhere only in Lev 21:10 of the anointed priest, “upon whose head the oil has been poured”, regarding the priest’s lack of mourning rites. This may have been in the minds of the LXX translators in Lev 11:38 when using ἐπιχέω at this point, agreeing with the *TS* use.

11QT 49:8-10a

ובלי חרש יטמאו וכול אשר בהמה לכול איש טהור/ יטמא  
והפתוחים יטמאו לכול אדם מישראל כול המושקה אשר בהמה

And every earthen vessel will be unclean, and everything that is in them, for every *pure man*, will be unclean. And the open vessels will be unclean for every man from Israel, all liquid that is in them.

<sup>14</sup> We follow Schiffman, *Courtyards*, p. 410, who accepts that *mushqeh* means the same here as in Lev 11, against Yadin, *Temple Scroll*, 2:213-214, who argues by reference to the Mishnah that it refers here to the food over which water has been poured. Charlotte Hempel, “Who is Making Dinner at Qumran?”, *JTS* 63, 2012, p. 57-62 discussed *mushqeh* in the Scrolls, rejecting the view that the “pure food” and “pure drink” of 1QS 6:20-21 is a matter of table-exclusion in favour of seeing it as a matter of purity—it is not just the consumption of food and drink that matters, but the whole process of preparation of the food. The *TS* here would confirm that reading, including the storage of the foodstuffs.

Lev 11:33

וְכָל־כְּלִי־חָרָשׁ אֲשֶׁר־יִפֹּל מֵהֶם אֶל־תּוֹכוֹ כֹּל אֲשֶׁר בְּתוֹכוֹ יִטְמָא

And every earthen vessel into which one of them will fall, all that is in it will be unclean. (NRS)

Num 19:15

וְכָל־כְּלִי פֶתוּחַ אֲשֶׁר אֵין־צֶמֶד פֶּתִיל עָלָיו טָמֵא הוּא:

And every open vessel which has no cover fastened upon it, that is unclean. (NRS)

The opening of the line returns to the base text, but now divides the subject into two parts. Numbers discusses only the uncleanness of an open vessel. The *TS* adds regulation regarding a covered vessel, with the addition of the terms “pure man” and “man from Israel”. The “pure man” occurs only in Num 19 in the MT—vv. 9 and 18. There the pure man is responsible for the ashes of the red heifer. He sprinkles the water of purification on the tent in which someone has died, thus removing the impurity of the tent, and by extension, of the unclean person (v. 19). This pure man is “clean” in relation to his role in purification.

The *TS*, however, speaks of the pure man in relation to the covered vessel, and in antithesis to the “man from Israel” and the open vessel. The man of Israel, like the *‘Am-Ha’arets* does not maintain the distinctions of purity in daily life, and is subject to common impurities. For the pure man, however, like the *hever*, who observes priestly levels of purity (as in the application of the anointed priest’s terminology in the verse above), even a closed vessel is impure. Here we have an early expression of a hierarchy of society based on Levitical standards of purity.<sup>15</sup>

<sup>15</sup> Swanson, *The Tempe Scroll and the Bible*, p. 188; Schiffman, *Courtyards*, p. 411-412; Yadin, *Temple Scroll*, 2:214. Joseph Fitzmyer, “The Use of Explicit Old Testament Quotations in Qumran Literature and in the New Testament”, *NTS* 7, 1961, p. 297-333 is perhaps the earliest examination of the citation formula in the Scrolls, but the study focusses on four broad generic uses of the OT, and not on the texts themselves.

This extended example of the exegetical practice of the *TS* serves to point to the ways in which authoritative texts, Scripture, are worked with in order to provide new interpretations or extended applications. We see here the use of a secondary text to fill out and emend the base text (Lev 11 on Num 19); changing word-order to clarify meaning or emphasis; substitution of key link-words to allude to a third text that has bearing on the context. Twice we note substitutions that can also be found in the LXX (“house” for “tent”; “pour” for “come”) that illustrate the fact that such interpretation and re-application within the text is already found elsewhere. Selective omission makes the case stronger in the instance of “all food and all drink” becoming unclean.

What is particularly interesting in the *TS* is the extension of inner-biblical exegesis to inner-textual rewriting on a large scale—yet still using the language of the authoritative texts.

## 1.2 The Peshar Habakkuk

A feature of Matthew’s citations of Scripture is the citation formula “as it has been written/spoken by the prophet”. This has been compared to the formula found at Qumran among the *pesharim*,<sup>16</sup> “this is what it says”; “when it says”. In both cases the cited Scripture is seen to be a prophetic text finding fulfilment in the narrative of Gospel or exegesis of *peshar*. The *peshar* gets its name from the formula that follows a Scriptural citation (*pishro*, “its interpretation”; “the interpretation of the matter”; and variations) which introduces the commentary on the text.<sup>17</sup> Jean Carmignac distinguished two types of *peshar*, continuous and thematic, in his article on 11QMelchizedek,<sup>18</sup> which is a thematic *peshar*, and its citations

<sup>16</sup> Though not restricted to the *pesharim*.

<sup>17</sup> There is no equivalent in Matthew. Fuller definitions among the numerous commentaries on the commentaries are available. For the text and translation here we follow Maurya Horgan, “Habakkuk Peshar (1QpHab)”, in James H. Charlesworth, et al., eds., *Pesharim, Other Commentaries, and Related Documents*, Vol. 6b of *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Hebrew, Aramaic and Greek Texts with English Translations*, Tübingen/Louisville, KY, Mohr Siebeck/Westminster John Knox Press, 2002.

<sup>18</sup> Jean Carmignac, “Le Document de Qumran sur Melchisedek”, *RevQ* 7, 1969-1971, p. 361.

of Scripture to establish a narrative truth may be compared broadly with NT writers. For our purposes here, however, we choose an example from a continuous *pesh*, the Peshar Habakkuk, that exhibits a number of the features of exegesis we are discussing. This commentary has been working its way through the book of Habakkuk, with citations of different lengths interspersed with running commentary. Habakkuk 2:15 is interpreted to refer to the Wicked Priest who confounds the Teacher of Righteousness on the Day of Atonement.

1QpHab 11:2b-3

הוֹי מִשְׁקָה רַעִיָּהוּ מִסַּפַּח / אִף שָׁכַר לִמְעַן הִבֵּט אֶל מוֹעֲדֵיהֶם

Woe to him who gives his neighbors to drink, mixing in/ his poison, **indeed, making (them) drunk in order that he might look upon their feasts.** (Horgan)

Hab 2:15

הוֹי מִשְׁקָה רַעִיָּהוּ מִסַּפַּח חֲמַתְךָ וְאִף שָׁכַר לִמְעַן הִבֵּט עַל-מַעֲוִרֵיהֶם

Alas for you who make your neighbours drink, pouring out your wrath **until they are drunk, in order to gaze on their nakedness!** (NRS)

Discussion of this portion of the Peshar Habakkuk has been on the last word of the line. Is the *pesh* reading a textual variant of a proto-MT text, or is it an exegetical variant? The reading of “feasts” for “nakedness” comes from the reversed order of the *ayin* and *waw*, and the reading of *daleth* for MT *resh*. Both of these are common scribal errors, but, as Timothy Lim notes, this is not a scribal error because the interpretation depends on its reading<sup>19</sup>—as the Wicked Priest confounds the followers of the Teacher of Righteousness by invading their feast of the Day of Atonement (possible because of calendar differences).

The MT reading is sensible and most likely within the context of Habakkuk—the gazing on nakedness as a result of drunkenness recalls Ham’s “sin” in Gen 9. The *pesh* text appears to be a play on the word to focus on his grievance with the Wicked Priest.

<sup>19</sup> Timothy H. Lim, *Pesharim*, Sheffield, Sheffield Academic Press, 2002, p. 57.

1QpHab 12:1

[...] יַחַתָּהּ מַדְמֵי אָדָם וְחַמְסֵי אֶרֶץ קָרִיָּה וְכָל יוֹשְׁבֵי בָּהּ

[the destruction of the animals]<sup>20</sup> will destroy on account of<sup>21</sup> human bloodshed and violence (done to) the land, the town and all who inhabit it. (Horgan)

Hab 2:17

כִּי חֶמֶס לְבָנוֹן יַכְסֹךְ וְשֹׁד בְּהֵמֹת יַחֲתִינָן מַדְמֵי אָדָם וְחַמְסֵי-אֶרֶץ קָרִיָּה וְכָל-יֹשְׁבֵי בָּהּ

For the violence done to Lebanon will overwhelm you; the destruction of the animals will terrify you— because of human bloodshed and violence to the earth, to cities and all who live in them. (NRS)

πτοήσει σε διὰ αἵματα ἀνθρώπων καὶ ἀσεβείας γῆς καὶ πόλεως καὶ πάντων τῶν κατοικούντων αὐτήν

For the impiety of Lebanon will cover you, and the misery of wild animals will terrify you—on account of human bloodshed and impieties of the earth, of the city and of all who live in it. (NETS)

In the citation of Hab 2:17 there are two interesting matters to note. Firstly, the variant forms of the first word of the line lead to a disputed verb. The MT is the *hiphil* impf. 3<sup>rd</sup> msg. + 3<sup>rd</sup> fpl. of חָתַת (LXX agrees with “will terrify”). However, Maurya Horgan reads the *peshar* as the *qal* impf. 3<sup>rd</sup> msg. of חָתַת, “they will destroy”.<sup>22</sup> The difference is merely qualitative in the negative effect. This may be taken as a variant reading in which the direct address of the MT is missing (minus of “you”) as not essential to the pesharist’s purposes.

Secondly, there follows a partial repetition of the Habakkuk text. The citation formula is repeated, but now there is a difference:

<sup>20</sup> The first part of Hab 2:17 is lost at the end of col. 11.

<sup>21</sup> I emend Horgan here, who starts a new sentence after “destroy”, creating a sentence fragment.

<sup>22</sup> Lim cites Maurya Horgan, *Pesharim. Qumran Interpretations of Biblical Books*, CBQMS 8, Washington, DC, Catholic Biblical Association of America, 1979. The text here cites Horgan, “Habakkuk Peshar”, p. 183.



1QpHab 12:6-7

ואשר אמר מדמי/ קריה וחמס ארץ

And when it says, On account of the bloodshed of the town and violence [done to] the land. (Horgan)

This time the *peshar* omits אדם and reverses the order of phrases from Habakkuk—so, rather than “human bloodshed” we have “bloodshed of the town”. The result of this seems to be to interpret the text as applying to the Wicked Priest,<sup>23</sup> or the Temple hierarchy, because the interpretation of “town” is given as “Jerusalem”.

These examples serve to illustrate the ways in which the cited text may be presented: creative word-play allows certain interpretations of the text, and thus disallows others, (1QpHab 11:3); some differences exhibit a reworking/reordering of the text (1QpHab 12:6-7); and some differences may be explained by reference to the plurality, or fluidity, of texts in this period of the Community existence (e.g., 1QpHab 12:1: חתת/חתה).

### **Implications**

The argument for the availability to the commentary authors of a plurality of texts requires some comment on pluriformity. Space does not permit a detailed discussion, so we will draw on Eugene Ulrich’s description of pluriformity as our guide. In thinking about the Scripture compositions in the Second Temple period we should start “with an image of a flexible number of sacred scrolls with varying degrees of closeness or distance from a center called ‘Torah’, whose periphery was vague”.<sup>24</sup> Various editions of the sacred texts will have developed independently, and often with no relation to others; but neither Jews nor Christians were concerned to have a fixed text for it to be authoritative. “[E]vidently, differing forms of

<sup>23</sup> Timothy H. Lim, *Holy Scripture in the Qumran Commentaries and Pauline Letters*, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1997, p. 98.

<sup>24</sup> Eugene Ulrich, *The Dead Sea Scrolls and the Origins of the Bible*, Grand Rapids, MI/Leiden, Eerdmans/Brill: 1999, p. 93.

the text were acceptable”.<sup>25</sup> The evidence we have reviewed indicates, further, that the scribes were aware of and made use of differing forms of the text at the same time.

This is, of course, subject to much debate. The question which arises is the practical one of whether a scribe would plausibly have variant texts in front of him while composing a new work. From what is known of scribal practice, a picture of a desk with several scrolls open before the scribe is simply incredible.<sup>26</sup> Nevertheless, the evidence of the Dead Sea “biblical” manuscripts is of multiple copies of the same book “on the shelf”, none identical to the others; but, they are there, available for reference. Alongside this may be considered the place of argumentation amongst scribes capable of arguing differing readings or interpretations without the need of the texts in front of them. We cannot pursue this idea further at this time, but may sum up by suggesting that awareness of and ability to draw on variant readings of the Scriptural text is both plausible and, indeed, likely in view of the evidence we have summarized.

### 1.3 The Gospel of Matthew

We now turn our focus to the NT, and Matt 1-2 (Birth Narrative) as the test-case for applying the evidence above to Christian interpretation of Scripture.<sup>27</sup> There are five formulaic citations in these chapters, unique to Matthew, offering a discrete unit for study. Charles Thomas Davis observed in 1971 that “the narratives of Matt 1:18-2:23 are closely related in language, structure, and content to

<sup>25</sup> Ulrich, *Dead Sea Scrolls*, p. 93.

<sup>26</sup> Richard T. France argues along this line in “The Formula-Quotations of Matthew 2 and the Problem of Communication”, *NTS* 27, 1981, p. 233-251.

<sup>27</sup> The Matthean community may be seen as a predominantly Jewish Christian group. Cf. John Kampen, “The Sectarian Form of the Antitheses within the Social World of the Matthean Community”, *DSD* 1, 1994, p. 338, summarizing Jack Dean Kingsbury, *Social History of the Matthean Community*, Minneapolis, MN, Fortress, 1991.

Jewish tradition”, and are carefully organized with the citations the clue to the structure.<sup>28</sup>

There are five scriptural citations in the birth narrative chapters of Matthew. Each of them is introduced with the formula, “that the word of the prophet may be fulfilled”; none of them agrees wholly with the LXX text. We will look briefly at each of them, to see the nature of the variation, and seek to identify interpretive techniques that we already recognise. In addition, we will see how that assists us in understanding Matthew’s message.

### a) *Matt 1:23*

Matt 1:23

δοῦ ἡ παρθένος ἐν γαστρὶ ἔξει καὶ τέξεται υἱόν, καὶ καλέσουσιν τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ Ἐμμανουήλ, ὃ ἐστὶν μεθερμηνεύμενον μεθ’ ἡμῶν ὁ θεός. (BGT)

“Look, the virgin shall conceive and bear a son, and they shall name him Emmanuel”, which means, “God is with us”. (NRS)

Isa 7:14

διὰ τοῦτο δώσει κύριος αὐτὸς ὑμῖν σημεῖον ἰδοὺ ἡ παρθένος ἐν γαστρὶ ἔξει καὶ τέξεται υἱόν καὶ **καλέσεις** τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ Ἐμμανουήλ (BGT)

Therefore the Lord himself will give you a sign. Look, the virgin shall be with child and bear a son, and **you shall name** him Emmanuel. (NETS)

(WTT) לָכֵן יִתֵּן אֲדֹנָי הוּא לָכֵם אֵת הַנֶּהָה הַעֲלֵמָה הָרָה וְיִלְדֶּת בֶּן וְקָרְאת שְׁמוֹ עִמָּנוּ אֵל

Therefore the Lord himself will give you a sign. Look, the young woman is with child and shall bear a son, and [you] shall name him Immanuel. (NRS)

<sup>28</sup> Charles Thomas Davis, “Tradition and Redaction in Matthew 1:18-21:23”, *JBL* 90, 1971, p. 404, with dependence on Krister Stendahl, *The School of Matthew and Its Use of the Old Testament*, Uppsala, C. W. K. Gleerup/Ejnar Munksgaard, 1954. He also argues that these are redactionally related to the whole of the Gospel, contra e.g., A. J. B. Higgins, “St Matthew’s Infancy Narrative”, *NTS* 9, 1963, p. 382, who considers these to be a late addition.

The first citation is from the prophet Isaiah. There is only one textual difference to note in this first citation: for “they will call.” Codex Sinaiticus’s 3<sup>rd</sup> sg. καλέσει in Isaiah is shared by 1QIsa<sup>a</sup> וקרא (“he will call”); LXX Luke has 2<sup>nd</sup> pl. In Matthew, only Codex D retains the 2<sup>nd</sup> sg., “you will call” of the MT.

Robert Gundry suggested the Isaiah Scroll reading is equivalent to Matthew’s “impersonal plural”, and may be “original”, and Matthew is following another LXX reading.<sup>29</sup> He offers a rather convoluted explanation of the shift from the singular by reference to possible Greek confusion of Aramaic text tradition. Hagner sees a Matthean alteration to avoid conflict with the command to name Jesus.<sup>30</sup> Stendahl, however, views this as an intentional change used as a messianic title given to Jesus, in contrast to Luke 1:31 which merges the Isaiah command and the command to name Jesus.<sup>31</sup> David Kupp offers a simple reading: the implied leader “logically assumes” “his people” of Matt 1:21, those whom Jesus saves.<sup>32</sup>

Stendahl’s suggestion is provocative. But the evidence of the 1QIsa<sup>a</sup> variant might make this an example of the pluriformity of the biblical text. The difference of Matt from MT would not be exegetical, but shows awareness of a common variation.<sup>33</sup>

<sup>29</sup> Robert H. Gundry, *The Use of the Old Testament in St. Matthew’s Gospel. With Special Reference to the Messianic Hope*, NovTSup 18, Leiden, Brill, 1975, p. 90. Gundry follows Millar Burrows, *The Dead Sea Scrolls*, New York, NY, Viking, 1955, p. 312.

<sup>30</sup> Donald A. Hagner, *Matthew 1-13*, WBC 33A, Dallas, TX, Word Books, 1993, p. 21.

<sup>31</sup> Stendahl, *School of Matthew*, p. 98.

<sup>32</sup> David D. Kupp, *Matthew’s Emmanuel. Divine presence and God’s people in the First Gospel*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1996, p. 58.

<sup>33</sup> Interesting, but not pertinent for the purposes of this paper, is the texts of Aquila, Symmachus and Theodotion in translating הָעַלְמִים with νεᾶνις instead of LXX and Matt 1:23 ἡ παρθένος.

## b) *Matt 2:5-6*

Matt 2:5-6

γὰρ γέγραπται διὰ τοῦ προφήτου· <sup>6</sup> καὶ σὺ Βηθλέεμ, γῆ Ἰούδα, οὐδαμῶς ἐλαχίστη εἶ ἐν τοῖς ἡγεμόσιν Ἰούδα· ἐκ σοῦ γὰρ ἐξελεύσεται ἡγούμενος, ὅστις ποιμανεῖ τὸν λαόν μου τὸν Ἰσραήλ. (BGT)

For it has been written by the prophet: “and you, Bethlehem, in the land of Judah, are by no means least among the rulers of Judah; for from you shall come a ruler who is to shepherd my people Israel.” (NRS)

Mic 5:2

καὶ σύ Βηθλεεμ οἶκος τοῦ Εφραθα ὀλιγοστός εἰ τοῦ εἶναι ἐν χιλιάσιν Ἰουδα ἐκ σοῦ μοι ἐξελεύσεται τοῦ εἶναι εἰς ἄρχοντα ἐν τῷ Ἰσραὴλ καὶ αἱ ἔξοδοι αὐτοῦ ἀπ’ ἀρχῆς ἐξ ἡμερῶν αἰῶνος (BGT)

And you, O Bethlehem, house of Ephratha, are very few in number to be among the thousands of Ioudas; one from you shall come forth for me to become a ruler in Israel, and his goings forth are from of old, from days of yore. (NETS)

2 Sam 5:2

καὶ εἶπεν κύριος πρὸς σέ σὺ ποιμανεῖς τὸν λαόν μου τὸν Ἰσραὴλ καὶ σὺ ἔσει εἰς ἡγούμενον ἐπὶ τὸν Ἰσραὴλ (BGT)

And the Lord said to you: It is you who shall shepherd my people Israel, and it is you who shall become a ruler over Israel. (NETS)

Mic 5:1

וְאַתָּה בֵּית-לַחְמֵי אֶפְרַתָּה צָעִיר לְהִיּוֹת בְּאַלְפֵי יְהוּדָה מִמֶּנִּי לִי יֵצֵא לְהִיּוֹת מוֹשֵׁל בְּיִשְׂרָאֵל  
(WTT) וּמוֹצְאָתוֹ מִיְמֵי עוֹלָם

But you, O Bethlehem of Ephrathah, who are one of the little clans of Judah, from you shall come forth for me one who is to rule in Israel, whose origin is from of old, from ancient days. (NRS)

This citation is attributed to “the prophet”, without a name. It begins with words of Mic 5:1(2), but incorporates material outside

this *base text*.<sup>34</sup> Before looking at this secondary text we may consider the variants from Micah.

The first to note is the substitution of the phrase “land of Judah” for the Greek “house of Ephratah”. Gundry and Stendahl view this as an explanatory update of the geographic reference.<sup>35</sup> Morris notes Matthew is “not particularly close to either LXX or the Hebrew text”, but thinks it preserves the sense.<sup>36</sup> Hagner considers the possibility of theological significance as a reminder of Jesus’s descent from Judah, but thinks it more likely that it is influenced by its use in the following line of the citation, thus, the difference “is not significant”.<sup>37</sup>

The Greek phrase occurs predominantly in 2 Kings and 2 Chronicles, and four times in Jeremiah. In the Hebrew, besides the notable Chronicles frequency, there are six uses in Jeremiah including—most significantly for our context—Jer 31:23. This is significant because of the Jer 31 citation just a few verses later in Matt 2.<sup>38</sup> Here, as there, the context is pertinent: “Thus says the LORD of hosts, the God of Israel: Once more they shall use these words in the land of Judah and in its towns when I restore their fortunes: ‘The LORD bless you, O abode of righteousness, O holy hill!’” (Jer 31:23 NRS). The phrase “land of Judah” may be understood as an important *key-word* insertion.

The second variation of Micah is the “plus” of “by no means” with the substitution of the “few in number” (NETS), or “smallest” of the LXX and MT for “the least”. Morris refers to unnamed interpreters who consider Matthew to be contradicting Micah, and responds by saying both Micah and Matthew emphasize the greatness of Bethlehem.<sup>39</sup> Gundry sees this as the exchange of the small-

<sup>34</sup> Jerome considered this an example of the carelessness of the scribes; Stendahl, *School of Matthew*, p. 101.

<sup>35</sup> Gundry, *Use of the Old Testament*, p. 91; Stendahl, *School of Matthew*, p. 99.

<sup>36</sup> Leon Morris, *The Gospel According to Matthew*, Grand Rapids, MI, Eerdmans, 1992, p. 39.

<sup>37</sup> Hagner, *Matthew*, p. 28-29.

<sup>38</sup> Which implies that these unique citations were either brought together by Matthew, or were already connected together in the early tradition.

<sup>39</sup> Morris, *Gospel According to Matthew*, p. 39.

ness of size of Bethlehem for the greatness of her destiny, and wonders if the emphatic negative is a “targumic interpretation” of Micah, or an answer to a rhetorical question, or was in Matthew’s source text. Hagner thinks this is a significant change, in which, with the fulfilment of Micah’s prophecy in the birth of Jesus, the prophet’s word must “paradoxically now be reversed”.<sup>40</sup> With Gundry’s first suggestion, this surely is something like a “targumic” interpretation, and together with the other textual elements is in keeping with Second Temple period hermeneutics. This may be seen as non-“biblical” commentary by the writer, inserted into the rewritten text.

The third variation is the double substitution of *hegemon*, “ruler”, for *chiliasin* “the thousands” of Israel, and for *archonta*, “princes”, in the Micah base text. The first instance may be a matter of reading ‘*aluph* for ‘*eleph*. The second may simply be used as a synonym for Micah’s *archon*.<sup>41</sup> But in light of the insertion of 2 Sam 5 (discussed below), where *hegemon* is a translation of *marshal*, this may also be seen as a double key-word signal drawing attention to 2 Sam 5.<sup>42</sup> Gundry comes close to recognizing this, suggesting it may be “motivated by or suggests the link”; but he is more interested in the use of the term elsewhere in the LXX.<sup>43</sup> The 2 Samuel context is illuminating for its emphasis on the Davidic kingship—but Matthew shifts the acclamation from Hebron to Bethlehem. Of course, Matthew’s emphatic repetition of “ruler from Judah” in the hearing of Herod may be a factor in the choice of terminology.

Turning now to the non-Micah material, the phrase “shepherd my people Israel” is widely accepted as being from 2 Sam 5:2. These words are spoken to David when he is acclaimed king by the tribes of Israel. This *secondary text* is signalled in a number of ways, most obviously is the phrase, “from you shall come a ruler who is to shepherd my people Israel”. Matthew’s “ruler/shepherd” phraseology reverses the “shepherd/ruler” order of Second Samuel, thus placing emphasis on the rule, which is emphasised by repetition.

<sup>40</sup> Hagner, *Matthew*, p. 29.

<sup>41</sup> So Hagner, *Matthew*, p. 29.

<sup>42</sup> As Stendahl, *School of Matthew*, p. 100.

<sup>43</sup> Gundry, *Use of the Old Testament*, p. 92.

### c) **Matt 2:15**

Matt 2:15

ἵνα πληρωθῇ τὸ ρηθὲν ὑπὸ κυρίου διὰ τοῦ προφήτου λέγοντος· **ἔξ Αἰγύπτου ἐκάλεσα τὸν υἱόν μου.** (BGT)

This was to fulfill what had been spoken by the Lord through the prophet, **“Out of Egypt I have called my son”**. (NRS)

Hos 11:1

διότι νήπιος Ἰσραὴλ καὶ ἐγὼ ἠγάπησα αὐτὸν καὶ **ἔξ Αἰγύπτου μετεκάλεσα τὰ τέκνα αὐτοῦ** (BGT)

For Israel was an infant, and I loved him, and **out of Egypt I recalled his children**. (NETS)

Hos 11:1b

וּמִמִּצְרַיִם קָרָאתִי לְבִנִי

... and out of Egypt I called my son (NRS)

The LXX stands alone in its rendering of Hos 11:1. Matthew is a close equivalent of the MT, as is the case with the retroversions to the Hebrew, Aquila, and Theodotion.<sup>44</sup> Some see this as an independent translation from the Hebrew.<sup>45</sup> Others consider this possibility, but ask whether, as Allen says, Matthew “cites from a current Greek translation”.<sup>46</sup> This raises the question of intention. Stendahl acknowledges that there is no way of knowing which of these may be the case, but believes this form of the text is necessary for its function in Matthew as a messianic proof-text.<sup>47</sup>

On one hand it can be argued that the commonality with other Greek versions simply indicates the normal Greek version of that

<sup>44</sup> Stendahl, *School of Matthew*, p. 101.

<sup>45</sup> Gundry, *Use of the Old Testament*, p. 93; Morris, *Gospel According to Matthew*, p. 43.

<sup>46</sup> Willoughby C. Allen, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Gospel according to S. Matthew*, Edinburgh, T&T Clark, 1912, p. 15.

<sup>47</sup> Stendahl, *School of Matthew*, p. 101; Gundry, *Use of the Old Testament*, p. 93, makes a lengthy case for the deliberate use of this version.



time, and so Matthew translates from common usage. On the other, that Symmachus translates “called” with a perfect rather than the majority aorist might be an argument for Matthew making a choice of known variant translations. In sum, this looks like an example of one variant among a pluriform text.

#### **d) Matt 2:18**

Matt 2:17-18

<sup>17</sup> τότε ἐπληρώθη τὸ ῥηθὲν διὰ Ἱερεμίου τοῦ προφήτου λέγοντος  
<sup>18</sup> φωνὴ ἐν Ῥαμὰ ἠκούσθη, κλαυθμὸς καὶ ὄδυρμος πολὺς·  
 Ῥαχὴλ **κλαίουσα τὰ τέκνα αὐτῆς**, καὶ οὐκ ἤθελεν **παρακληθῆναι**,  
 ὅτι οὐκ εἰσίν. (BGT)

Then was fulfilled what had been spoken through the prophet Jeremiah: “A voice was heard in Ramah, wailing and loud lamentation, Rachel weeping for her children; she refused to be consoled, because they are no more.” (NRS)

Jer 38:15

οὕτως εἶπεν κύριος φωνὴ ἐν Ραμα ἠκούσθη θρήνου καὶ κλαυθμοῦ καὶ ὄδυρμοῦ

**Ραχηλ** ἀποκλαιομένη **οὐκ ἤθελεν** παύσασθαι ἐπὶ τοῖς υἱοῖς αὐτῆς **ὅτι οὐκ εἰσίν** (LXX<sup>B</sup>)<sup>48</sup>

Thus did the Lord say: A voice of lamentation and weeping and mourning was heard in Rama; Rachel did not want to stop weeping for her sons, because they are not. (Jer 38:15 NETS)

Jer 31:15

קוֹל בְּרָמָה נִשְׁמָע נְהִי בְּכִי תַמְרוּרִים  
 רַחֵל מְבַכָּה עַל־בְּנֶיהָ מֵאֲנָה לְהִנָּחֵם עַל־בְּנֶיהָ כִּי אֵינָנּוּ (WTT)

<sup>48</sup> Stendahl, *School of Matthew*, p. 102, observes that LXX<sup>A</sup> and Aquila are closer to MT, as is Matthew. This can be seen in use of παρακληθῆναι, but both Greek texts remove the geographically specific Ramah for “in the height”.

Thus says the LORD: A voice is heard in Ramah, lamentation and bitter weeping. Rachel is weeping for her children; she refuses to be comforted for her children, because they are no more. (NRS)

It takes only a glance to see that Matthew does not agree wholly with any extant text. Matthew is closer to the Hebrew in its simpler syntax—the use of active voice as opposed to LXX middle, and LXX use of genitives of apposition.<sup>49</sup> Matthew omits the MT's second “for her sons”. Gundry attributes the differences in vocabulary to different distinct Greek textual traditions. Others suggest Matthew writes from memory, or is creative here.<sup>50</sup> On the other hand, they might also be seen as key-word substitutions. Thus:

- κλαίουσα in place of ἀποκλαιομένη, recalls the lamentation of the city in Lam 1:2, and Hannah in 1 Sam 1:10. The former, in Lamentations' close relationship to Jeremiah, and in a citation explicitly attributed to Jeremiah, makes this an attractive interpretation.
- παρακληθῆναι in place of παύσασθαι recalls Ps 77:3 (76:3 LXX), a prayer for deliverance by one who will not be comforted.
- Matthew reads τὰ τέκνα αὐτῆς in place of the common Greek τοῖς υἱοῖς αὐτῆς. The phrase is often used negatively in the Bible, of pain (the ostrich's children in Job 39:16); but giving honour to their mother in Prov 31:28.

At the least, this is an example of a free-ranging citation of Jeremiah. Even so, it may be considered to insert key-words that bring similar contexts to bear on the base text.<sup>51</sup>

<sup>49</sup> Gundry, *Use of the Old Testament*, p. 95; Hagner, *Matthew*, p. 38; Morris, *Gospel According to Matthew*, p. 46.

<sup>50</sup> Allen, *Critical and Exegetical Commentary*, p. 16, as an example of earlier interpretation, considers it a quotation from memory. For Stendahl, *School of Matthew*, p. 103, Matthew “gives his own rendering”.

<sup>51</sup> The last substitution, children for sons, is not satisfactorily explained by any of the commentators.

### e) **Matt 2:23**

Matt 2:23

ὅπως πληρωθῇ τὸ ῥηθὲν διὰ τῶν προφητῶν ὅτι Ναζωραῖος κληθήσεται.  
(BGT)

so that what had been spoken through the prophets might be fulfilled,  
“He will be called a Nazorean”. (NRS)

Isa 11:1

(WTT) וַיֵּצֵא מִטֶּטֶל מִן־יֵשׁוּעַ וַיִּצְרֹךְ מִשְׁרָשָׁיו יִפְרֶה

A shoot shall come out from the stump of Jesse, and a branch (*netser*)  
shall grow out of his roots. (NRS)

καὶ ἐξελεύσεται ῥάβδος ἐκ τῆς ῥίζης Ιεσσαὶ καὶ ἄνθος ἐκ τῆς ῥίζης  
ἀναβήσεται (BGT)

And a rod shall come out of the root of Iessai, and a blossom (*anthos*)  
shall come up out of his root. (NETS)

Judg 13:5

ὅτι ἰδοὺ σὺ ἐν γαστρὶ ἔξεις καὶ τέξῃ υἱόν καὶ οὐκ ἀναβήσεται σίδηρος ἐπὶ  
τὴν κεφαλὴν αὐτοῦ ὅτι ἡγιασμένον ναζιραῖον ἔσται τῷ θεῷ τὸ παιδάριον  
ἐκ τῆς γαστροῦ καὶ αὐτὸς ἄρξεται σῶζειν τὸν Ἰσραὴλ ἐκ χειρὸς  
ἁλλοφύλων (LXXA)

For see, you shall become pregnant and bear a son. And iron shall not  
come upon his head, for the boy shall be sanctified, a nazirite to God from  
the womb. (NETS)

With this final example we come to perhaps the most interesting  
of Matthew’s citations. There is no biblical text that says “He will  
be called a Nazorean”. How are we to understand a citation of a  
non-existent text? We may summarize proposed solutions to the  
source following Gundry:

1. Late 19<sup>th</sup> century treatments (H. A. W. Meyer, Riggenbach)  
look to root of *netser* as “to keep, preserve” (Exod 34:6; Ps 31:24; Isa  
42:6; 49:6). The Isaiah passages suggest allusion to the Servant of

the Lord. However, in Isa 42 it appears as a verb; in Isa 49, in the plural of the remnant of Israel; but neither of the Servant. Zolli refers to Jer 31:6, which is in keeping with the previous citations, but this plural is of watchmen calling Zion to repent.<sup>52</sup>

2. Harold Smith argues for Lam 4:7, in which the *nazirai* (*נַזִּירִי*/נַזִּירִי) are all pure as snow.<sup>53</sup> The context of shining nazirites offers little insight to Matthew. This approach depends on a confusion of *zayin* and *tsade* in transliteration, opting for the latter.<sup>54</sup> E. Schweizer pursued the nazirite connection with Judg 13:5, 7 (see above) He compared it to Mark's association of Jesus *Nazarene* and "Holy One of God" (Mark 1:24), and the Samson story. This is discounted on the basis that the form of the name is not the same (different vowel), and Jesus was anything but a nazirite.<sup>55</sup>

3. Gundry discusses at length connections with Mandaean, called *Nasaraioi* in Epiphanius, but we will pass this over as it is not helpful.<sup>56</sup>

4. As a reference to Nazareth, Gundry rehearses the argument that Nazareth did not exist in the 1<sup>st</sup> century, but dismisses it with reference to an inscription found in Caesarea in 1963.<sup>57</sup>

5. Gundry champions Isa 11:1, the "old" view, as the source.<sup>58</sup> The plural "prophets" may be explained by reference to branches and shoots in Ps 22, Isa 53 and Zech 9 etc., all emphasizing the lowly

<sup>52</sup> Gundry, *Use of the Old Testament*, p. 97-98.

<sup>53</sup> Gundry, *Use of the Old Testament*, p. 98; Harold Smith, "Ναζωραῖος κληθήσεται", *JTS* 28, 1926, p. 60.

<sup>54</sup> *Tsade* is more normally transliterated with *sigma*; see Stendahl, *School of Matthew*, p. 104, p. 199.

<sup>55</sup> Gundry, *Use of the Old Testament*, p. 99, summarizing Eduard Schweizer, *Judentum, Urchristentum, Kirche*, Berlin, Töpelmann, 1960, p. 90-93.

<sup>56</sup> Gundry, *Use of the Old Testament*, p. 100.

<sup>57</sup> Gundry, *Use of the Old Testament*, p. 103. Hagner, *Matthew*, p. 42. Henry M. Shires, "The Meaning of the Term 'Nazarene'", *ATR* 29, 1947, p. 27 reviewed the same evidence in 1943, and concluded that "Jesus the Nazarene" meant simply 'Jesus of Nazareth'.

<sup>58</sup> Gundry, *Use of the Old Testament*, p. 102-104. Amongst those holding the "old" view is Stendahl, *School of Matthew*, p. 103, "The most common explanation appears to be unquestionably the right one".

Messiah.<sup>59</sup> The citation, thus, comes from the *netser* = lowliness motif and the “phonetic similarity” to the place name, Nazareth, is an “inner correspondence” to the obscure town.<sup>60</sup>

Matthew is clearly playing with the word here in relation to Jesus’s residence in Nazareth. The exact form cannot be made to fit with any known transliteration in the Greek Bible, so to some extent will remain unresolved. Nevertheless, the identification of Isa 11:1 as the prophetic base does seem to be most likely. With Matt 1:23, these citations come from the Immanuel section of Isaiah (7-12), and form an envelope around the birth narrative. The Isaiah connection may be strengthened by the observation that the word the commentators pay less attention to “he shall be called” (κληθήσεται, in both texts) is frequently used in Isaiah (arguably, Second Isaiah) with salvation terms (Isa 35:8; 54:5; 56:7; 60:18; 62:4; 65:15).

The odd form of the word does signal a play on the term, however, and also suggests another allusion. The commentators who reject the nazirite connection (e.g., Gundry, Hagner) do so because Jesus is not depicted as a nazirite, but quite the opposite, “a glutton and a drunkard” (Matt 11:19). However, this misses a separate, but important, connection to the Samson story—the miraculous birth of Samson, holy from the mother’s womb. Schweizer sees the combination of “Jesus the Nazarene”, and “you are the Holy One of God” in the cry of the unclean spirit in Mark 1:24 as an allusion to Samson.<sup>61</sup> The connection is stronger here. Stendahl points to the LXX<sup>A</sup> form of *nazir* in Judg 13:5, ναζιραῖον.<sup>62</sup> With the plus, “he will be sanctified”, alongside this paranomasia the connection to the

<sup>59</sup> He further refers to Messianic interpretation of Isa 11:1 in rabbinic literature (referring only to Strack-Billerbeck, however), and the *netser* in the Hodayot.

<sup>60</sup> Gundry, *Use of the Old Testament*, p. 104.

<sup>61</sup> Gundry, *Use of the Old Testament*, p. 99, summarizing Eduard Schweizer, *Judentum, Urchristentum, Kirche*, Berlin, Töpelmann, 1960, p. 90-93.

<sup>62</sup> Stendahl, *School of Matthew*, p. 198, explaining how this would be intelligible to a Greek reader; see, too, James A. Sanders, “ΝΑΖΩΠΑΙΟΣ in Matt 2:23”, *JBL* 84, 1965, p. 169-172. Both emphasize Matthew’s need to establish the authority of Scripture, even while using his own “authority” to create the text reading.

Judges text is not to the nazirite lifestyle, but to the holiness of the miraculous birth.

To this might now be added the connection to nazirite birth by reference to the Qumran text of 1 Sam 1:22.<sup>63</sup> The MT reads:

וְחָנָה לֹא עָלְתָה כִּי־אָמְרָה לְאִשָּׁה עַד יִגְמַל הַנֶּעֱר וְהִבְאֵתִיו  
וְנִרְאָה אֶת־פָּנָי יְהוָה וְיָשֵׁב שָׁם עַד־עוֹלָם

However, Hannah did not go up, having said to her husband, “Not before the child has been weaned. Then I shall bring him and present him before Yahweh and he will stay there for ever”. (NJB)

...to which 4QSam<sup>a</sup> col. ii, frg. a, lines 3-4a, alone, includes a longer ending:

וְנָתַתִּיהוּ נָזִיר עַד עוֹלָם כּוֹל יְמֵי חַיָּיו

“[And I will gi]ve him as a nazir forever, all the days of his life”.

This is not to argue that Matthew had such a text before him, but does suggest that the account of Jesus’s birth is to be linked to the miraculous birth narratives of the Judges. Whether this is meant to introduce the idea of Jesus as a nazirite or not is a matter of question; but the use of wordplay is wholly in keeping with exegesis in the Scrolls.

Thus we can see that both Isaiah citations, beginning and ending the narrative, have the birth of Jesus in view. The uniqueness of this birth that is shared with Samson’s is the holiness of the child. The focus in neither is the birth itself, but the revelation of the role and purpose of the child: he is “God with us”, the shoot from the stem of Jesse, who will save his people from their sins.

<sup>63</sup> Eugene Ulrich, “The Qumran Biblical Scrolls” in *The Dead Sea Scrolls in Their Historical Context*, ed. Timothy H. Lim, Edinburgh, T&T Clark, 2000, p. 78-79; referred to by George J. Brooke, “Shared Exegetical Traditions Between the Scrolls and the New Testament”, *The Oxford Handbook of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, ed. by Timothy H. Lim and John J. Collins, Oxford, OUP, 2010, p. 580.

## 2. Conclusions

This examination of the Matthew citations has illustrated the use of the same exegetical techniques found in the Scrolls: pluriformity of texts (Matt 1:23, 2:15); use of *base* and *secondary texts*, interpretative substitution/original material (2:6); *key-word* insertion (2:6, 2:18); word-play (2:23). In many respects, the results do not overturn past arguments regarding the sources of these citations. Yet, the evidence does offer fresh nuance and insight into the interpretative concerns of Matthew. Further, this sort of examination helps to tip the balance of the evidence at times to one suggestion over others, as seen in the case of Matt 2:23.

The similarities in the use of Scripture between the Scrolls and Matthew highlights the Jewish background of the Gospel author. We can expect to find in the Evangelist an educated scribe with a wide range of exposure to the Scripture texts. The question of the scribal context for production of such texts is an intriguing one, for another time.

## George Brooke's *The Dead Sea Scrolls and the New Testament: Reflections and Principles for Future Study*

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**Résumé.** Quelles relations peut-il y avoir entre l'étude des rouleaux de Qumrân et l'étude du Nouveau Testament ? George Brooke a apporté une contribution majeure à l'élucidation de cette question durant plusieurs décennies. La présente étude analyse quatre articles importants, qu'il a consacrés à des thèmes relatifs à ce domaine de recherche : sur l'histoire de l'interaction entre les études qumraniennes et les études néotestamentaires ; sur le Jésus historique ; sur le « canon dans le canon » ; ainsi que sur l'interprétation biblique. Ces articles ont été rassemblés comme autant de chapitres dans le volume consacré par George Brooke à ce sujet. En passant en revue chacun de ces thèmes, la présente étude s'efforce notamment de dériver des principes pertinents qui puissent servir à des recherches ultérieures sur les rouleaux de la Mer morte et le Nouveau Testament.

George Brooke has been a key figure in Dead Sea Scrolls research for several decades and has had a particular interest in relationships between the Scrolls and the Bible. This will have stemmed partly from his position as Rylands Professor of Biblical Criticism and Exegesis. It was also moved forward in practice by his role as organizer of the University of Manchester end of a series of biblical studies colloquia shared with University of Lausanne, and with the Universities of Geneva and Sheffield, colloquia producing a string of published essay collections on a range of topics that cross the biblical canon. Brooke's involvement in all of this series has ensured that, whatever biblical topic they covered, that topic would—usually in several contributions—be brought into relationship with the Dead Sea Scrolls. There has probably been a two-way relationship here. The Manchester–Lausanne collections always involved the DSS because of the involvement of Brooke and his students and



post-doctoral researchers. Conversely, the Lausanne collaborations have repeatedly brought Brooke back to publishing on aspects of the relationship between the Bible and Scrolls.

In 2005, George Brooke drew together sixteen papers from the previous eighteen years and published a lightly revised collection as *The Dead Sea Scrolls and the New Testament: Essays in Mutual Illumination*.<sup>1</sup> This collection expressed many key aspects of how Brooke saw research on the DSS and the Bible as being best tackled. My impression from papers that he has produced since 2005, and from teaching that I have heard him give to our students, is that, broadly, Brooke would still prioritize many of the research principles at work in the 2005 book. In any case, the book is a great collected expression of Brooke's approach and, this paper will argue, presents several key principles that can helpfully shape agendas for research, not just on the Dead Sea Scrolls and the NT, but on the DSS and all parts of the Bible.

The Introduction to Brooke's book, although brief, is important because he uses it to draw attention to key features of the subject as a whole as he sees it at the time of editing. The first chapter is a history of scholars' engagement between the DSS and the NT. Three broad thematic chapters then cover the historical Jesus, "canon within a canon", and biblical interpretation. A further chapter considers shared intertextual connections. Then eleven chapters consider specific texts. This paper will consider the Introduction, the history of scholarship, and the three broad thematic chapters, presenting some of Brooke's points on each, and discussing their relevance for future research.

## 1. Setting the Overall Scene

In the Introduction, Brooke stresses three points as being of particular overall significance. The first is about how overwhelming a change the discovery of the Scrolls made to the quantity and quality of Jewish primary evidence from the time of Jesus and his early

<sup>1</sup> George Brooke, *The Dead Sea Scrolls and the New Testament: Essays in Mutual Illumination*, London, SPCK, 2005.

followers.<sup>2</sup> Nearly two thousand years of scholarship had produced readings of the NT in relation to ideas of Judaism constructed with hardly any reference to primary material directly from that time. The step-change in evidence needed a step-change in analysis. In particular, the Scrolls showed “interpretation of the Law” to be “a focus of the daily concerns of at least one group of Jews”.<sup>3</sup> For Brooke, this called for a stronger focus among NT scholars on issues of interpretation of scriptural law and, under the influence of the Scrolls, Brooke sees this as having, to an extent, happened. Going beyond the NT, we might add that the step-change in availability of evidence is also very sharp for Jewish studies. In that academic sphere no one doubted the centrality of interpretation of the Law. However, here was a large block of primary pre-Tannaitic evidence and it was evidence of some Jews interpreting the Law in quite unexpected ways.

Brooke's second introductory point is that the sequence in which the Scrolls became widely available has led NT scholars down what are probably erroneous paths. Partly coincidentally, and partly not at all coincidentally, the first Scrolls that gained prominence in NT studies were those which suggested similarities between Qumran and NT ideas and practices: on eschatology, messianism, and community organization. Some such headline-grabbing “parallelomania”<sup>4</sup> was no doubt inevitable anyway but, as Brooke points out, the delay until the 1990's of the publication of the mass of texts from Cave IV and elsewhere allowed false impressions to develop about which interests were predominant at Qumran. The mass of more recently released texts shows that the overall picture is of a very heavy concentration on the Law and its interpretation.<sup>5</sup> We are back at point one, but with a nuance in relation to NT studies: NT scholars must not get fixated on a limited number of eschatological trees and ignore the overall wood, which consists predominantly of legal interpretation.

<sup>2</sup> Brooke, *Dead Sea Scrolls*, p. xvii.

<sup>3</sup> Brooke, *Dead Sea Scrolls*, p. xvii.

<sup>4</sup> Samuel Sandmel, “Parallelomania”, *JBL* 81, 1962, p. 1-13.

<sup>5</sup> Brooke, *Dead Sea Scrolls*, p. xvii.

Brooke's third observation is that there are no NT writings at Qumran. Conversely, even if a few second- or third-generation Christians had had some Essene affiliation, this has left little trace in the NT.<sup>6</sup> Brooke is setting himself up as a skeptic on theories of direct dependence between the NT and Qumran. He is also generally doubtful about supposed large-scale similarities between the NT and the Scrolls. He writes, "those using the scrolls to illuminate the writings of the New Testament should be as much concerned with the differences as with the similarities".<sup>7</sup>

At the end of the Introduction, Brooke directly addresses the issue of future research, making two suggestions. First,

[t]hose concerned to appreciate some of the exegetical details preserved in the Dead Sea Scrolls would do well not to omit the evidence of the New Testament in their search of contemporary Jewish literature which might help in the explanation of challenging fragmentary passages.<sup>8</sup>

Second,

New Testament scholars in turn should recognise that the value of the Dead Sea Scrolls for the better appreciation of the Jewish background of much in the New Testament does not lie exclusively in particular matters of organisation or messianic belief, but much more broadly in the ways in which Jews contemporary with Jesus and Paul constructed their own self-understandings and identities through highly intricate and sophisticated interpretations of inherited traditions, interpretations which gave life to texts written in earlier generations.<sup>9</sup>

The two words that Brooke ends the chapter with are "mutual illumination". As we think about possible agendas for future research on the DSS and the Bible, "mutual illumination" must be a key principle. In fact, as we will see, this principle of mutual illumination is

<sup>6</sup> Brooke, *Dead Sea Scrolls*, p. xviii.

<sup>7</sup> Brooke, *Dead Sea Scrolls*, p. xviii.

<sup>8</sup> Brooke, *Dead Sea Scrolls*, p. xxii.

<sup>9</sup> Brooke, *Dead Sea Scrolls*, p. xxii.

itself probably transformed by a more radical stance in which the boundaries across which this mutuality is constructed should, in Brooke's thought, be somewhat broken down.

## 2. A Brief History of the Scrolls and the New Testament

One characteristic of some of Brooke's presentations is the inclusion of elements of dry humor. This is certainly true of this book's first chapter, in which he presents the history of scholarship on the Scrolls and the NT by hijacking Roland de Vaux's periodization of Qumran.<sup>10</sup> We get the pre-Qumran period, periods IA and IB, a time of abandonment, periods II and III then finally "Period IV"? Brooke uses the run-through of the history to make several points.

For the "pre-Qumran" period, Brooke draws attention to two types of pre-1947 source which were used by some NT scholars. The first is the classical references to Essenes. These led Renan and others to see Essenism as the precursor of early Christianity.<sup>11</sup> The second is the Cairo version of the Damascus Document. This inspired Schechter and a number of scholars to consider points of comparison between this text and the NT, especially in the ways in which they both handled texts from the Pentateuch.<sup>12</sup>

<sup>10</sup> Roland de Vaux, *L'archéologie et les manuscrits de la mer Morte*, The 1959 Schweich Lectures of the British Academy, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1961, p. 1-39.

<sup>11</sup> Brooke, *Dead Sea Scrolls*, p. 4; Ernst Renan, *Histoire du peuple d'Israël*, Paris, Calman, 1891, p. 5, p. 70; André Dupont-Sommer, *Les écrits esséniens découverts près de la mer Morte*, 4<sup>th</sup> ed., Bibliothèque historique, Paris, Payot, 1980.

<sup>12</sup> Brooke, *Dead Sea Scrolls*, p. 4-5; Solomon Schechter, *Fragments of a Zadokite Work*, vol. 1 of *Documents of Jewish Sectaries*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1910; R. H. Charles, "Fragments of a Zadokite Work Also Known as The Damascus Document", in *Pseudepigrapha*, vol. 2 of *The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament in English*, ed. R. H. Charles, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1913, p. 799-834.

Brooke sees 1948-1952 as Period IA, a time of small beginnings, when some French and German scholars in particular began making tentative links between Scrolls and some NT texts.<sup>13</sup> In contrast, in Period IB, which Brooke takes to be ca. 1953-1977, there was a “rapid expansion of activity”.<sup>14</sup> This period saw some scholars link the Scrolls to John the Baptist, Jesus and a high proportion of NT ideas,<sup>15</sup> whereas others flatly denied such links.<sup>16</sup> In between these camps, Brooke sees there to have been an emerging consensus with four elements:

1. Apart from possibly John the Baptist, the Scrolls mainly illuminate the post-70 CE parts of the NT.
2. The predominant parallels are in community organization and practice.
3. There is “some shared worldview” about the Temple, eschatology and messianism.
4. The way in which the Scrolls display varieties of Judaism increased NT scholars’ “appreciation of the varieties of early Church communities”.<sup>17</sup> Brooke sees E. P. Sanders’s *Paul and Palestinian Judaism* as “a fruitful climax” to period IB.<sup>18</sup>

Period IB was followed by abandonment of the site: NT scholars were scared away by the 1977 publication of the Temple Scroll. For Brooke, the Temple Scroll reorients Qumran studies away from its previous focus on doctrine (a focus largely generated by Christian scholars) towards halakhic matters, a shift later reinforced by the

<sup>13</sup> E.g., Karl Georg Kuhn, “Die in Palästina gefundenen hebräischen Texte und das Neue Testament”, *ZTK* 47, 1950, p. 192-211.

<sup>14</sup> Brooke, *Dead Sea Scrolls*, p. 7.

<sup>15</sup> E.g., W. H. Brownlee, “John the Baptist in the New Light of Ancient Scrolls”, *Interpretation* 9, 1955, p. 71-90; G. L. Harding, “Where Christ Himself May Have Studied: A Monastery at Khirbet Qumran”, *London Illustrated News*, 3 Sep 1955, p. 379-381.

<sup>16</sup> E.g., H. H. Rowley, *The Dead Sea Scrolls and the New Testament*, London, SPCK, 1957; Brooke, *Dead Sea Scrolls*, p. 7-8.

<sup>17</sup> Brooke, *Dead Sea Scrolls*, p. 8-9.

<sup>18</sup> E. P. Sanders, *Paul and Palestinian Judaism: A Comparison of Patterns of Religion*, London, SCM, 1977.

publication of 4QMMT. This reorientation was, in itself, a major dislocation for NT scholars who used the Scrolls in their work. It also took Scrolls scholarship into areas in which few NT scholars are well trained.<sup>19</sup> The Scrolls became for NT scholars a rather alarming territory which was not so easily organized using familiar doctrinal landmarks.

After the few introductory bars of woodwind that was the publication of 4Q525, Period II started with a great fanfare, which I heard very loudly because I was sitting right in front of one of the trumpets. I was a student in Geza Vermes's DSS class at Oxford in autumn 1991. Every week something new happened: he had been talking to the BBC, the Times, the Washington Post, Israel Antiquities Authority. Events raced along, from Ben Zion Wacholder and Martin G. Abegg's "reverse concordance"<sup>20</sup> to Robert H. Eisenman and James McConkey Robinson's facsimile edition,<sup>21</sup> then, suddenly, the release of the remaining Scrolls. For us, this meant that the full set of photographs, kept at Yarnton near Oxford in the event of nuclear war, were suddenly open to be read. We gathered in an upstairs seminar room in the Centre for Postgraduate Hebrew and Jewish Studies, poring over bad photocopies of 4QS while some post-docs raced away at translating the text, with periodic halts for Geza to deploy his presidential magnifying glass to try to elucidate especially enigmatic characters.

For Brooke, Period II, which ran up to the time of writing in 1999, broadly reinforced but modified the consensus of Period IB. While it still seemed true that most links between the Scrolls and the NT related to post-70 NT texts, the degree of potential influence now looked less than before. This particularly related to an increased awareness of cases where NT and Scrolls authors could

<sup>19</sup> Brooke, *Dead Sea Scrolls*, p. 10-11.

<sup>20</sup> Ben Zion Wacholder and Martin G. Abegg Jr, *A Preliminary Edition of the Unpublished Dead Sea Scrolls: The Hebrew and Aramaic Texts from Cave Four*, vol. 1, Washington, D.C., Biblical Archaeology Society, 1991. The edition was created by using the extant concordance to the scrolls to recreate the texts themselves, in a reverse of the normal process by which a concordance is created.

<sup>21</sup> Robert H. Eisenman and James McConkey Robinson, *Taf. 1-907*, vol. 1 of *A Facsimile Edition of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, Washington, D.C., Biblical Archaeology Society, p. 199.

both be drawing on shared Jewish traditions, rather than NT writers drawing on the Scrolls.<sup>22</sup> Brooke also observes that many of the suggested parallels related to Jesus tradition mainly came from non-sectarian texts, which means they would say little about links to Qumran as such.<sup>23</sup> Brooke does, however, leave open the question of Jesus's political stance and how that might compare with Qumran.<sup>24</sup> Overall, Brooke concludes that, mainly, the Scrolls—in particular the non-sectarian ones—simply contribute to improving our understanding of the variegated Jewish context in which Jesus lived and acted.

Brooke then looks forward to Period III. He gives three pointers towards a research agenda based on how things looked at the start of the Millennium. First, he commends study of shared exegetical traditions. The aim here is not to search for literary dependence of the NT on the Scrolls but to seek mutual illumination.<sup>25</sup> Second, he suggests that biblical scholars with social scientific expertise at relating texts to contexts could apply these skills to Qumran's unique correlation of stored texts and site. This engagement might then feed constructively back into NT studies.<sup>26</sup> Third, he argues that,

the breadth of material in the scrolls concerning the Law and its right practice in the communities of those compositions will force a reassessment of the place of the Law in the concerns of the New Testament authors.<sup>27</sup>

As this begins,

[w]hat is generally becoming apparent is that both the several forms of Qumran Judaism and the various forms of community belief

<sup>22</sup> Brooke, *Dead Sea Scrolls*, p. 13.

<sup>23</sup> Brooke, *Dead Sea Scrolls*, p. 14.

<sup>24</sup> Brooke, *Dead Sea Scrolls*, p. 15.

<sup>25</sup> Brooke, *Dead Sea Scrolls*, p. 16.

<sup>26</sup> Brooke, *Dead Sea Scrolls*, p. 17.

<sup>27</sup> Brooke, *Dead Sea Scrolls*, p. 17–18.

and practice in the early churches are both exemplars of religious movements concerned with grace and law.<sup>28</sup>

In particular, at Qumran the Law "was viewed as a gracious gift" and it was recognized that "a relationship with God was not possible without an adequate covenantal framework".<sup>29</sup>

Brooke ends his history of scholarship by speculating on a possible future Period IV, in which the site is left to only "the occasional shepherd or traveller", until it is dug up 1800 years later by archaeologists of scholarship who are astonished to discover that, in the late 20<sup>th</sup> century, chapter 2 of every NT PhD dissertation was a survey of the dissertation topic as it appeared in the DSS!

### 3. The Historical Jesus

On the historical Jesus, Brooke surveys the gamut of views, from there being no relationship between Jesus and the Scrolls to Jesus and his followers being the very people who put the Scrolls collection together. As Brooke discusses the range of options, from the deeply implausible to the reasonably defensible, he makes a number of points that are valuable for considering future research.

Brooke notes possible areas of comparison between the Scrolls and Jesus. Brooke notes three such areas: form of instruction, namely wisdom; exegetical tradition (he cites use of Isaiah's vineyard); and practice, in particular, exorcistic actions and laying on of hands.<sup>30</sup> These lead to a more systemic point, that observation of these kinds of comparisons has often been blocked by what Brooke describes as "the common abuse of the criterion of dissimilarity".<sup>31</sup> Brooke's move here could be seen to lead us towards an interesting broader question: Does comparative study of the

<sup>28</sup> Brooke, *Dead Sea Scrolls*, p. 18.

<sup>29</sup> Brooke, *Dead Sea Scrolls*, p. 18.

<sup>30</sup> Brooke, *Dead Sea Scrolls*, p. 21-22.

<sup>31</sup> Brooke, *Dead Sea Scrolls*, p. 22. On the criterion of dissimilarity and other criteria of authenticity generally used in 20<sup>th</sup> century study of the historical Jesus see, e.g., Norman Perrin, *Rediscovering the Teaching of Jesus*, New York, NY, Harper & Row, 1967.



Scrolls and the Bible work best with certain approaches to questions of how biblical texts relate to history? For study of the historical Jesus, for instance, does it require a commitment to something like N.T. Wright's critical history approach<sup>32</sup> rather than mid-20<sup>th</sup> century "criteria of authenticity"?

A related issue that Brooke raises is the tendency of many Christian scholars to grasp eagerly at ideas of Jesus's uniqueness.<sup>33</sup> This again raises a broader question for us: Can comparison of biblical texts and the Scrolls be a route towards demonstrating uniqueness of ideas in the biblical texts? This has a practical angle for those involved in training of ministers of religion. I have heard Christian speakers contrast NT teaching of love and inclusion with Qumran exclusivity and purity-teaching. Can this kind of value-laden contrast be the fruit of valid research?

This leads us neatly to Brooke's third observation: scholars who deny connection between Jesus and the Scrolls do have geographical, sociological, and theological evidence that they can cite: Jesus was Galilean, he was not part of an educated priestly elite, and he was committed to inclusivity.<sup>34</sup> On the third of these, Brooke also points to the converse suggestion that the same evidence could imply that Jesus was so aware of the Scrolls that he was actually reacting against them over issues such as inclusivity.<sup>35</sup> A key question for us is a broad methodological one: How does a research project measure contrast? A project may map parallels between texts, but how does it map contrasts and, indeed, points where links are absent? How do we count gaps?

#### 4. The "Canon within the Canon"

Brooke's next chapter considers the effective "canon within the canon" at Qumran and in the NT. He means canon in the informal sense of books which were "cherished and used at the centre of the

<sup>32</sup> N. T. Wright, *The New Testament and the People of God*, London, SPCK, 1992, 81-120.

<sup>33</sup> Brooke, *Dead Sea Scrolls*, p. 25.

<sup>34</sup> Brooke, *Dead Sea Scrolls*, p. 25.

<sup>35</sup> Brooke, *Dead Sea Scrolls*, p. 23.

life of various communities". He uses four criteria for establishing this at Qumran:

1. Counting extant copies of books;
2. Counting references to a book within other works;
3. Analyzing dependence of certain texts on the content of others;  
and
4. Considering texts that follow the model of earlier books.<sup>36</sup>

He concludes that the four criteria fairly consistently point towards a Qumran "canon within the canon" of Genesis, Deuteronomy, Isaiah, and the Psalms.<sup>37</sup>

This result will not surprise many. However, Brooke goes on to consider the significance of each of the books for the community. He sums his answers up in four characterizations of eschatological personhood. He concludes that, for the community of the end-times as envisaged in the Scrolls, a person is called to various aspects of identity by various books of the Bible:

- Genesis calls a person to be *homo horticultor*, man the gardener.<sup>38</sup>
- Deuteronomy calls to being *homo oboediens*, the obedient man.<sup>39</sup>
- Psalms call for *homo laudans*, man praising.<sup>40</sup>
- Isaiah announces the existence of *homo electus*, the chosen man, referring to the community.<sup>41</sup>

In Brooke's view of Qumran reading, Genesis roots the community in antiquity and critiques the priestly tradition, presenting the community as the garden replanted and heading back to the original garden.<sup>42</sup> Deuteronomy offers the garden's ideology and the land's law, with the community toughening those laws as it reads.<sup>43</sup>

<sup>36</sup> Brooke, *Dead Sea Scrolls*, p. 29-33.

<sup>37</sup> Brooke, *Dead Sea Scrolls*, p. 35.

<sup>38</sup> Brooke, *Dead Sea Scrolls*, p. 36.

<sup>39</sup> Brooke, *Dead Sea Scrolls*, p. 40.

<sup>40</sup> Brooke, *Dead Sea Scrolls*, p. 42.

<sup>41</sup> Brooke, *Dead Sea Scrolls*, p. 43.

<sup>42</sup> Brooke, *Dead Sea Scrolls*, p. 36-37.

<sup>43</sup> Brooke, *Dead Sea Scrolls*, p. 37-39.

Deuteronomy also, in a move key for Brooke, “offers permission for the rewriting of normative texts, and perhaps in some cases the model for how such rewriting should be done”.<sup>44</sup> The Psalms are read as prophecy, teaching about the community’s history and completion.<sup>45</sup> They are also a source and model for its praise.<sup>46</sup> Isaiah and other prophets, especially the Twelve, also tell not of ancient Israel’s history but of the history of the chosen community.<sup>47</sup>

The NT draws especially on the same four books, although often not the same parts of them as at Qumran. Brooke sees many similarities of use but also profound differences of interpretation. In the NT, Genesis is read universalistically which, in turn, controls the reading of Deuteronomy, which is also read christologically, as are the Psalms and Isaiah. So, in Isaiah, in contrast to Qumran, the early Christian community read not their chosenness but that of Christ.<sup>48</sup> The Psalms also provide inspiration for those early Christian hymns that are lightly adapted from Jewish ones (e.g., in Luke 1-2). However, the other early Christian hymns, such as those in Revelation, strike out on their own.

## 5. Biblical Interpretation

Brooke’s final broad thematic chapter is on Biblical interpretation. He makes a general observation which he says,

can be expressed somewhat crudely in terms of the comparison of Qumran exegesis with Christian eisegesis.<sup>49</sup>

At Qumran,

<sup>44</sup> Brooke, *Dead Sea Scrolls*, p. 39.

<sup>45</sup> Brooke, *Dead Sea Scrolls*, p. 41.

<sup>46</sup> Brooke, *Dead Sea Scrolls*, p. 41-42.

<sup>47</sup> Brooke, *Dead Sea Scrolls*, p. 42-43.

<sup>48</sup> Brooke, *Dead Sea Scrolls*, p. 46-47.

<sup>49</sup> Brooke, *Dead Sea Scrolls*, p. 56.

[t]he agenda is set by scriptural texts and new compositions derived by thoroughgoing exegesis. Thus the Law is extended and completed, not replaced. ...

In the New Testament, however, the experiential and christological starting point led to a searching in the Scriptures for passages which were consistent with the view that God had been and continued to be active in Jesus with universal effect.... Once identified on the basis of the content of the early kerygma, scriptural passages could be interpreted in manners similar to the handling of texts in Judaism more broadly, but the agenda was set not primarily by Scripture itself, but by the early Christian experience, kerygmatically formulated.<sup>50</sup>

For Brooke, Qumran extends Scripture, whereas the NT takes a minimalist approach.<sup>51</sup>

He sees this contrast between Qumran and the NT as being clearest in interpretation of the Law. Qumran texts tend to hardline interpretation of the Law. Notwithstanding some Jesus tradition, the majority NT perspective on the Law "is that it is a problem in itself".<sup>52</sup> The second generation opening of churches to gentiles meant that, largely, "only those commandments of obvious universal significance are projected afresh".<sup>53</sup> A partial contrast to this is seen in the use of Wisdom traditions. They are used in quite a few places in the NT but are rarely a concern at Qumran.<sup>54</sup>

A formal difference between Qumran *peshar* and NT citations of scripture is that, in *peshar*, scripture precedes interpretation, whereas NT texts describe events then quote their scriptural prophetic foreshadowings.<sup>55</sup> In terms of narrative interpretation, Qumran tends to explain, especially when showing how a narrative fits an expected scheme, such as a calendrical one. In contrast, NT

<sup>50</sup> Brooke, *Dead Sea Scrolls*, p. 56-57.

<sup>51</sup> Brooke, *Dead Sea Scrolls*, p. 57.

<sup>52</sup> Brooke, *Dead Sea Scrolls*, p. 58.

<sup>53</sup> Brooke, *Dead Sea Scrolls*, p. 58.

<sup>54</sup> Brooke, *Dead Sea Scrolls*, p. 59.

<sup>55</sup> Brooke, *Dead Sea Scrolls*, p. 60.

use of scriptural narrative is mainly typological, symbolic, or allegorical.<sup>56</sup> Brooke also discusses poetic and homiletic interpretation. The selectivity inherent in the latter produces some similarity between the Scrolls and the NT in this.<sup>57</sup>

Brooke also notes various similarities between Scrolls and NT in detailed exegetical technique, such as the use of catchword linkage. A particular observation that he makes is that this quite often gives evidence of awareness of the literary context of text. This is apparent because some catchwords are adjacent to cited texts rather than being in the cited texts themselves.<sup>58</sup> He also notes a fairly systemic contrast between the willingness of Scrolls writers to imitate scriptural genres and the rarity of NT attempts to do so. Brooke cites possibilities such as Matthew perhaps imitating a Pentateuch.<sup>59</sup> However, we might see that as a conceivable exception that would prove the rule because if Matthew was imitating that genre he would be doing so in a far less direct way than happens at Qumran.

Finally on this chapter, it is worth us noting Brooke's questioning of the terminology that we might use for discussing comparison between interpretative techniques in the Scrolls and the NT. For instance, as he asks, "is 'midrash' a suitable term for use by either Qumranologists or Neutestamentlers?"<sup>60</sup>

## 6. Conclusions

In reflecting on aspects of Brooke's approach we have already noted a range of points that look to be fruitful pointers towards agendas and methods for future research. We will end with four broader implications for study of the Dead Sea Scrolls and the Bible.

1. The question of literary dependence of NT texts on sectarian DSS is off the table as a significant issue for research programs.

<sup>56</sup> Brooke, *Dead Sea Scrolls*, p. 61.

<sup>57</sup> Brooke, *Dead Sea Scrolls*, p. 61-63.

<sup>58</sup> Brooke, *Dead Sea Scrolls*, p. 66-67.

<sup>59</sup> Brooke, *Dead Sea Scrolls*, p. 64-65.

<sup>60</sup> Brooke, *Dead Sea Scrolls*, p. 69.

Brooke's work shows how difficult it would be to make extensive cases for such dependence. The relevant evidence is fairly limited, and is generally explicable as shared dependence on other Jewish traditions.

2. Value-laden comparison between the NT and DSS is a recipe for research that produces skewed results. The pursuit of uniqueness and superiority, often viewed as signs of divine inspiration or something akin to it, produces research that does not do justice to any of the texts in their contexts, on either side of the comparison.

3. There is no definitively clear-cut line between canonical and non-canonical texts. Brooke's work demonstrates that there is an almost continuous spectrum of types of text, from what are seen as variants of the MT to various kinds of texts that are seen as being "rewritten".

4. The key issue is mutual illumination, within and between corpora of texts in the Jewish cultural sphere of the Hellenistic and early Imperial periods.

These four points suggest research agendas that focus on interpretation of texts by undifferentiated comparison across any of the range of texts in this cultural and temporal area. Brooke's work demonstrates how this can be conducted lexically, thematically, and structurally.

There would not be two defined corpora to be compared: "biblical" and "non-biblical" texts. There would simply be an overall set of texts, to be compared by one approach or another. For example, as Brooke showed, interpretation of Law can be studied within the Bible as well as beyond. A type of approach to Law could be studied in Deuteronomy, in 4QMMT, in Matthew's Gospel, even in the Herakleopolis papyri: all these are texts from the Jewish cultural sphere from the period in question.

Where we do have distinction in corpora is between texts physically extant from the period—in this case, Deuteronomy papyri, 4QMMT and the Herakleopolis papyri—and texts taken to have existed in the period but attested by later manuscripts—for instance, versions of Deuteronomy like the MT, Matthew's Gospel. Texts of the latter type would have to be weighed for their degree of rele-

vance to the interpretative conversation. In fact, we might go further and argue that there would be value in the control offered by constructing a project that worked entirely from physically extant evidence. This could be selective, either by sampling or on some other basis. However, for some questions such a project could now even approach considering the full, large corpus that would be created by drawing together manuscripts from the Jewish cultural area across the full date range of the scrolls and beyond to the first large codices. Rapid advances in digital humanities, not least in Lausanne, mean that some such projects are now quite practical, for instance on lexical and syntactical questions.

George Brooke's work encourages us to the kind of research that operates without fear or favor, treating each text in its own right, as an object produced in its own context. As many of us have benefitted so much from his work, I trust that will encourage us forward to future work that honors his approach.

# La critique paulinienne des « œuvres » au regard de 4QMMT et des Pastorales

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**Abstract.** *This study reconsiders the meaning of « works of law » in Paul from three perspective: first, via a comparison with equivalents of the formula in the Dead Sea Scrolls; second, with an analysis of the phrase within Pauline contexts of communication (esp. Galatians); and finally with an exploration of its reception by the earliest readers of Paul in the Pastoral Epistles.*

## 1. Paul et les « *Dead Sea Scrolls* »<sup>2</sup>

Nul ne peut comprendre la lame de fond qui balaie de nos jours les études pauliniennes, sans mesurer le renouvellement provoqué dans le champ des sciences bibliques par la découverte, puis la publication, des manuscrits de la Mer morte<sup>3</sup>. En effet : alors que l'exégèse classique tenait bien souvent Paul pour l'inventeur d'une « religion » d'empreinte hellénistique, son œuvre a pu être réins-

<sup>1</sup> Nous profitons de cette note pour dédier à George Brooke cette étude dont une première ébauche a été présentée lors du colloque Lausanne – Manchester en son hommage organisé à l'Institut romand des sciences bibliques en avril 2017.

<sup>2</sup> Pour un panorama de la recherche néotestamentaire dans son rapport aux études qumrâniennes, voir Jörg Frey, « The Impact of the Dead Sea Scrolls on New Testament Interpretation: Proposals, Problems and Further Perspectives », in *The Scrolls and Christian Origins*, vol. 3 de *The Bible and the Dead Sea Scrolls*, éd. par James H. Charlesworth, Waco, Baylor University Press, 2006, p. 407-461.

<sup>3</sup> Avec Jörg Frey, « Paul's Jewish Identity », in *Jewish Identity in the Greco-Roman World – Jüdische Identität in der griechisch-römischen Welt*, éd. par Jörg Frey et al., Ancient Judaism and Early Christianity / Arbeiten zur Geschichte des antiken Judentums und des Urchristentums 71, Leiden / Boston, MA, Brill, 2007, p. 285-321, en particulier les p. 287-289.



crite, à l'examen des points de contact entre ses lettres et les documents de Qumrân notamment, au cœur du judaïsme du second Temple et de sa diversité interne<sup>4</sup>. La critique paulinienne des « œuvres de la Loi » en fait partie ; elle constitue, peut-être même, l'un des exemples les plus connus d'une reconfiguration des paramètres de la recherche néotestamentaire suite à l'« entrée en scène » des études qumrâniennes<sup>5</sup>. Précisons les denrées du problème<sup>6</sup>.

Lu à huit reprises dans la correspondance de Paul, en Galates et Romains<sup>7</sup>, le syntagme ἔργα νόμου était tenu, jusqu'à la parution en 1994 du document 4QMMT (un document composite, partielle-

<sup>4</sup> Frey, « Paul's Jewish Identity », p. 285-321.

<sup>5</sup> Le récent volume collectif édité par Jean-Sébastien Rey et consacré aux relations entre les textes de Qumrân et la littérature paulinienne taille, sans surprise, la part du lion au document 4QMMT : Jean-Sébastien Rey, éd., *The Dead Sea Scrolls and Pauline Literature*, Studies on the Text of the Desert of Judah 102, Leiden / Boston, MA, Brill, 2014.

<sup>6</sup> Pour l'état de la question, voir : Lutz Doering, « 4QMMT and the Letters of Paul: Selected Aspects of Mutual Illumination », in *The Dead Sea Scrolls and Pauline Literature*, Studies on the Text of the Desert of Judah 102, éd. par Jean-Sébastien Rey, Leiden / Boston, MA, Brill, 2014, p. 69-87, p. 69-72.

<sup>7</sup> Rm 3,20.28 ; Ga 2,16 (3x) ; 3,2.5.10. À cela s'ajoutent la formule ἐξ ἔργων sans complément en Rm 4,2 ; 9,11.32 ; 11,6 ; la formule χωρὶς ἔργων en Rm 4,6 ainsi que la proposition génitive τῶν ἔργων en Rm 3,27. Cf. Émile Puech, « 'Les œuvres de la Loi' : mariage et divorce à Qumrân et dans les lettres de Paul », in *The Dead Sea Scrolls and Pauline Literature*, éd. par Jean-Sébastien Rey, Studies on the Text of the Desert of Judah 102, Leiden / Boston, MA, Brill, 2014, p. 143-169, p. 143-144.

ment préservé dans six manuscrits exhumés de la grotte 4 de Qumrân = 4Q394-399)<sup>8</sup>, pour une création propre aux origines chrétiennes<sup>9</sup>. Congénitale au combat de Paul contre la Loi et sa prétention salvifique, la formule ἔργα νόμου semblait alors résumer la prétention prométhéenne de l'humain à l'autojustification<sup>10</sup>. Pourtant, comme le note Jörg Frey dans une étude consacrée au judaïsme chez Paul, « [d]iese Position kann nicht die des Paulus sein. Von ihr grenzen sich heute fast alle Exegeten ab »<sup>11</sup>. Comment en est-on arrivé là ? Et quelle compréhension de la polémique contre les « œuvres » lui préférer ?

C'est à ce questionnement qu'est consacrée cette étude écrite à deux plumes<sup>12</sup>. Elle se décline en trois temps principaux :

<sup>8</sup> Pour une introduction à ce document composite, voir George J. Brooke, « Luke – Acts and the Qumran Scrolls: The Case of MMT », in *Luke's Literary Achievement. Collected Essays*, éd. par Christopher M. Tuckett, JSNTSup 116, Sheffield, Sheffield Academic Press, 1995, p. 72-90 ; Puech, « Les œuvres de la Loi », p. 143-150 ; et la présentation qu'en donne Katell Berthelot dans « A propos de quelques œuvres de la Loi (4QMMT). 4Q394 3 – 8 ; 4Q395 – 4Q396 – 4Q397 – 4Q398 – 4Q399 ; 4Q313 », in *La Bibliothèque de Qumrân 3a. Édition bilingue des manuscrits à l'initiative d'André Paul : Torah. Deutéronome et Pentateuque dans son ensemble*, édition et traduction des manuscrits hébreux, araméens et grecs sous la direction de Katell Berthelot, Michael Langlois, Thierry Legrand, Paris, Cerf, 2013, p. 647-687, en particulier p. 647-650.

<sup>9</sup> Voir Florentino G. Martínez, « Galatians 3:10-14 in the Light of Qumran », in *The Dead Sea Scrolls and Pauline Literature*, éd. par Jean-Sébastien Rey, *Studies on the Text of the Desert of Judah* 102, Leiden / Boston, MA, Brill, 2014, p. 51-67, p. 52-56.

<sup>10</sup> Classiquement : Rudolf Bultmann, *Theologie des Neuen Testaments*, 9<sup>e</sup> éd., Tübingen, Mohr Siebeck, 1984, p. 265.

<sup>11</sup> Jörg Frey, « Das Judentum des Paulus », in *Paulus. Leben – Umwelt – Werk – Briefe*, 2<sup>e</sup> édition, éd. par Oda Wischmeyer, UTB 2767, Tübingen / Basel, Francke Verlag, 2012, p. 25-65, p. 61.

<sup>12</sup> La problématique et l'orientation de fond données à cette étude ont été élaborées ensemble par Luc Bulundwe (dans l'article, abrégé : LB) et Simon Buttica (abrégé : SB) et sont donc assumées de manière solidaire, même si les points 1. et 2. (ainsi que la brève introduction) ont été rédigés par Simon Buttica et le point 3. par Luc Bulundwe ; la conclusion somme de manière commune les acquis de l'ensemble. Quant aux traductions bibliques données dans l'étude, elles sont de Luc Bulundwe, respectivement de Simon Buttica, en fonction des sections et de leur(s) rédacteur(s) annoncé(s) ici.

1. c'est par dresser un inventaire succinct des positions développées par la recherche récente sur les « œuvres de la Loi » chez Paul, au regard des parallèles qumrâniens notamment, que démarre notre enquête ;
2. la pertinence de ces positions est ensuite évaluée, à la lecture principalement de la critique des « œuvres de la Loi » que Paul conduit en Galatie ;
3. enfin, convoquant différents outils d'exégèse intéressés aux phénomènes de réception, c'est la manière dont cette polémique a été reçue et comprise dans les lectures anciennes de l'apôtre, au prisme du corpus des Pastorales, qui est examinée<sup>13</sup>.

<sup>13</sup> Une enquête identique à la nôtre dans cet article a été conduite par Samuel Vollenweider, « Paul entre exégèse et histoire de la réception », in *Paul, une théologie en construction*, éd. par Andreas Dettwiler, Jean-Daniel Kaestli et Daniel Marguerat, MdB 51, Genève, Labor et Fides, 2004, p. 441-459, voir de manière synthétique mais suggestive les p. 450-452, ainsi que chez Andreas Lindemann, « Christusglaube und 'Werke des Gesetzes' bei Paulus. Exegetische Perspektiven », in *Ancient Perspectives on Paul*, éd. par Tobias Nicklas et al., NTOA / SUNT 102, Göttingen, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2013, p. 234-262 (son survol des Pastorales reste embryonnaire). Voir aussi : Ulrich Luz, « Rechtfertigung bei den Paulusschülern », in *Rechtfertigung. Festschrift für Ernst Käsemann zum 70. Geburtstag*, éd. par Johannes Friedrich et al., Tübingen / Göttingen, Mohr Siebeck / Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1976, p. 365-383 et Andreas Lindemann, *Paulus im ältesten Christentum. Das Bild des Apostels und die Rezeption der paulinischen Theologie in der frühchristlichen Literatur bis Marcion*, BHT 58, Tübingen, Mohr Siebeck, 1979, p. 134-149. Avant de soumettre notre article à la revue *Semítica*, nous avons encore pris connaissance de la thèse de doctorat de Matthew J. Thomas, *Paul's « Works of the Law » in the Perspective of Second Century Reception*, WUNT 2.468, Tübingen, Mohr Siebeck, 2018. L'approche adoptée par l'auteur (ibid., en particulier p. 4-10), valorisant les réceptions de Paul dans l'exégèse de ses écrits et dans l'étude du débat paulinien sur les « œuvres de la Loi », et articulant à cet endroit la « *Wirkungsgeschichte* » et les travaux sur la mémoire (sociale) (ibid., p. 4-8), rejoint notre perspective dans cette étude. Thomas confirme aussi le caractère innovant de la démarche sur les « œuvres de la Loi » (ibid., p. 8). Reste que les objets d'études retenus par ce dernier sont divers témoins textuels du 2<sup>e</sup> siècle, à l'exclusion des Pastorales.

## 2. James Dunn, Michael Bachmann et Jacqueline de Roo : trois positions en débat

Détailler, dans son exhaustivité, l'éventail des positions adoptées sur le dossier des « œuvres de la Loi » tient de la gageure, tant elles sont nombreuses<sup>14</sup>. Seules trois d'entre elles seront présentées ici, significatives néanmoins pour notre enquête. À commencer par la thèse formulée par James D.G. Dunn, grand artisan de la *New Perspective on Paul* dans le dernier quart du 20<sup>e</sup> siècle<sup>15</sup>.

Prolongeant la perception renouvelée du judaïsme palestinien promue par Ed Parish Sanders et en débat direct avec la lecture luthérienne de Paul<sup>16</sup>, c'est une interprétation *socio-identitaire* des « œuvres de la Loi » qui se lit sous la plume de Dunn<sup>17</sup>. Précisé-ment : si la polémique paulinienne contre la Torah cible en priorité

<sup>14</sup> Frey, « Das Judentum des Paulus », p. 61, en discerne cinq (Bultmann ; Dunn ; Bachmann ; Avemarie et Das ; Haacker) ; Udo Schnelle, *Paulus. Leben und Denken*, Berlin / New York, NY, de Gruyter, 2003, p. 304-305, en présente six (Bultmann ; Wilckens ; Sanders ; Dunn ; Watson ; Bachmann). Nous exploitons leur effort de synthèse. Cf. déjà : Simon Buttica, *La crise galatée ou l'anthropologie en question*, BZNW, Berlin / Boston, MA, de Gruyter, 2018, p. 134-136 n. 78.

<sup>15</sup> Sur ce courant de la recherche qu'il est convenu d'appeler la *New Perspective on Paul* (la « nouvelle approche sur Paul » ; trad. fr. SB), à la suite de James Dunn, « The New Perspective on Paul », *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library* 65, 1983, p. 95-122, on lira : Frey, « Das Judentum des Paulus », p. 55-63.

<sup>16</sup> James Dunn, *The New Perspective on Paul. Collected Essays*, WUNT 185, Tübingen, Mohr Siebeck, 2005, p. 89-110. Il s'appuie singulièrement sur l'ouvrage-clé de Ed P. Sanders : *Paul and Palestinian Judaism. A Comparison of Patterns of Religion*, London, SCM Press, 1977.

<sup>17</sup> A lire sa « Manson Memorial Lecture » (1982) parue en 1983 sous le titre Dunn, « The New Perspective on Paul », avant d'être réimprimée dans James Dunn, *The New Perspective on Paul*, p. 89-110, il appert que l'interprétation que Dunn livre des « œuvres de la Loi » chez Paul est intimement liée au mouvement né dans le sillage de ses travaux et communément appelé la *New Perspective on Paul*. En témoigne le propos de Dunn, au moment d'examiner Ga 2,16 : « This is the most obvious place to start any attempt to take a fresh look at Paul from our new perspective » (ibid., p. 95 ; ici et dans ce qui suit, nous faisons référence à l'édition de 2005).

sa « fonction sociale » (*social function*)<sup>18</sup> en soutien à une compréhension exclusiviste de l'alliance d'Israël, alors la dénonciation des ἔργα νόμου consignée en Galates et Romains est, selon Dunn, à situer sur le même axe : ce sont les vecteurs identitaires de la foi juive, singulièrement la circoncision débattue lors de l'assemblée de Jérusalem (Ga 2,1-10) ainsi que les lois alimentaires en litige à Antioche (Ga 2,11-14), que le Tarsiote épingleait ainsi<sup>19</sup> ; en un mot : ses « marqueurs identitaires et frontières », traçant autour du peuple choisi des contours étanches<sup>20</sup>. À ces « badges » (*badges*) de l'élection juive, Paul opposerait la foi en Jésus Christ, seule condition pour intégrer la descendance d'Abraham<sup>21</sup>. Heuristique, cette hypothèse n'a pas été sans répercussions sur l'herméneutique paulinienne—à commencer par le sens qu'il convient de donner à la justification par la foi. En effet, comme l'écrit James Dunn dans sa *Theology of Paul the Apostle*, « Paul's theology of justification emerged not as an attempt by Paul the individual to find peace with God, but as his attempt to understand how it was that Gentiles as Gentiles could be accepted by the God of Israel »<sup>22</sup>, confirmant en cela des thèses formulées avant lui par Krister Stendahl<sup>23</sup>.

<sup>18</sup> L'expression se rencontre dans un article de 1985 (James Dunn, « Works of the Law and the Curse of the Law [Gal 3.10-14] », *NTS* 31, 1985, p. 523-542, réimprimé dans James Dunn, *The New Perspective on Paul*, p. 111-130 ; il s'agit de l'intertitre qui figure en p. 112 de l'édition de 2005 ; trad. fr. SB), Paul percevant ainsi l'enjeu de la Loi dans le judaïsme du second Temple, cette dernière fonctionnant selon Dunn comme « part and parcel of Israel's identity » (*ibid.*, p. 115 ; selon la pagination de l'édition de 2005).

<sup>19</sup> Dunn, *The New Perspective on Paul*, p. 98.

<sup>20</sup> Dunn, *The New Perspective on Paul*, p. 89-110, p. 111-130, en particulier p. 117 : « 'works of the law' are Paul's way of describing in particular the identity and boundary markers which Paul's Jewish (-Christian) opponents thought, and rightly thought, were put under threat by Paul's understanding of the gospel » (trad. fr. SB pour l'expression de Dunn citée dans le corps de notre texte).

<sup>21</sup> Dunn, *The New Perspective on Paul*, p. 99, p. 101, p. 103 (trad. fr. SB pour le mot entre guillemets dont l'original anglais cité se lit à ces trois pages).

<sup>22</sup> James Dunn, *The Theology of Paul the Apostle*, Edinburgh, T&T Clark, 1998, p. 501.

<sup>23</sup> Dunn, *The New Perspective on Paul*, p. 110. Dunn fait référence, en note 49 de cette même page, à Krister Stendahl, *Paul among Jews and Gentiles, and other Essays*, Philadelphia, PA, Fortress Press, 1976.

Élaborée avant la publication du fameux 4QMMT, cette thèse trouvera, selon Dunn, confirmation dans ce qui devait être « une lettre envoyée par un (ou le) responsable de la secte de Qumrân pour expliquer aux juifs d'Israël la *halakhah* particulière de la secte »<sup>24</sup>. Précisément, l'expression « *miqsat ma' ase ha-torah* », rencontrée en 4QMMT 113/C27<sup>25</sup>, désignerait, pour Dunn toujours, les règles halakhiques propres au groupe destinataire, soit « l'interprétation qumrânienne de diverses lois concernant le Temple, le sacerdoce, les sacrifices et la pureté (3-5/B1-2) »<sup>26</sup>. Les observer aurait pour enjeux non seulement le séparatisme de la communauté en question, mais aussi son acquittement à la fin des temps (116-118/C 30-32)<sup>27</sup>.

La position adoptée sur la question par Michael Bachmann n'est pas très éloignée de Dunn<sup>28</sup>. Sur un point néanmoins, sa spécificité

<sup>24</sup> James Dunn, « Paul et la Torah : le rôle et la fonction de la Loi dans la théologie de Paul l'apôtre », in *Paul, une théologie en construction*, éd. par Andreas Dettwiler, Jean-Daniel Kaestli et Daniel Marguerat, MdB 51, Genève, Labor et Fides, 2004, p. 227-249, p. 243. Cf. aussi : James Dunn, « 4QMMT and Galatians », *NTS* 43, 1997, p. 147-153, réimprimé dans James Dunn, *The New Perspective on Paul*, p. 333-339 (dans la suite, nous ferons référence à cette dernière édition).

<sup>25</sup> Dans l'article de Dunn, « Paul et la Torah », p. 244, les références au texte de 4QMMT proviennent (pour le premier nombre) de Florentino Garcia Martinez, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Translated : The Qumran Texts in English*, Leiden, Brill, 1996, p. 77-79 et (pour la seconde référence après la barre oblique) de Elisha Qimron et John Strugnell, *Qumrân Cave 4.V, Miqsat Ma'ase Ha-Torah*, Discoveries in the Judean Desert 10, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1994.

<sup>26</sup> Dunn, « Paul et la Torah », p. 244.

<sup>27</sup> Ainsi : Dunn, « Paul et la Torah », p. 244.

<sup>28</sup> Michael Bachmann, « Rechtfertigung und Gesetzeswerke bei Paulus », *TZ* 49, 1993, p. 1-33, réimprimé dans Michael Bachmann, *Antijudaismus im Galaterbrief? Exegetische Studien zu einem polemischen Schreiben und zur Theologie des Apostels Paulus*, NTOA 40, Freiburg / Göttingen, Universitätsverlag / Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1999, p. 1-32 ; Michael Bachmann, « 4QMMT und Galaterbrief, מעשי התורה und ΕΡΓΑ ΝΟΜΟΥ », *ZNW* 89, 1998, p. 91-113, réimprimé dans Michael Bachmann, *Antijudaismus im Galaterbrief?*, p. 33-56 ; Michael Bachmann, « Was für Praktiken? Zur jüngsten Diskussion um die ἔργα νόμου », *NTS* 55, 2009, p. 35-54 ; Michael Bachmann, « Keil oder Mikroskop? Zur jüngeren Diskussion um den Ausdruck "Werke" des Gesetzes », in Michael Bachmann, *Von Paulus zur Apokalypse – und weiter. Exegetische und rezeptionsgeschichtliche Studien zum Neuen Testament*, NTOA 91, Göttingen, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2011, p. 99-159.

mérite d'être notée. Prenant appui sur 4QMMT, Bachmann considère que la formule paulinienne ἔργα νόμου ne recouvre pas tant la *pratique de la Loi* que des *halakhot*, soit des prescriptions ou régulations identitaires et sectaires adossées à la Torah : « [B]ei Paulus sollte man ... ἔργα νόμου ... besser nicht mit 'Werke des Gesetzes' übersetzen, sondern eher mit 'Regelungen des Gesetzes' oder mit 'Halakhot' »<sup>29</sup>.

En contraste manifeste avec ces deux approches, l'on peut mentionner la lecture proposée par Jacqueline de Roo dans une étude parue en l'an 2000<sup>30</sup>. Dénonçant la plasticité de la position développée chez Dunn et son interprétation erronée des « œuvres de la Loi » dans 4QMMT, c'est une hypothèse clairement alternative que défend de Roo, déclarant : « 'Works of the Law' expresses all of these: fearing, seeking, and practicing the law; in short, it stands for living in obedience of God's law »<sup>31</sup>, pour ensuite conclure, quelques pages plus loin : « In the light of the Qumran literature, it is not difficult to believe that Paul was polemicizing against a prevalent Jewish notion that it was possible to be justified in God's eyes by performing good works (that is, works in obedience to God's law) »<sup>32</sup>. Sans platement renouer avec la lecture bultmanienne, cette thèse reconnaît la perspective théologique et eschatologique endossée par Paul sur les « œuvres de la Loi ».

Comment débrouiller cet écheveau ? Et quelle lecture préférer, s'agissant de la critique paulinienne des « œuvres » ? Commençons par dresser l'inventaire des possibles points de contact entre Paul, singulièrement la lettre aux Galates, et le texte de 4QMMT<sup>33</sup> :

<sup>29</sup> Bachmann, *Antijudaismus im Galaterbrief?*, p. 42.

<sup>30</sup> Jacqueline C. R. De Roo, « The Concept of 'Works of Law' in Jewish and Christian Literature », in *Christian-Jewish Relations Through the Centuries*, éd. par Stanley E. Porter et Brook W. R. Pearson, JSNTSup 192, Sheffield, Sheffield Academic Press, 2000, p. 116-147. Cf. désormais aussi : Jacqueline C. R. De Roo, *'Works of the Law' at Qumran and in Paul*, New Testament Monographs 13, Sheffield, Sheffield Phoenix Press, 2007.

<sup>31</sup> De Roo, « The Concept of 'Works of Law' », p. 144.

<sup>32</sup> De Roo, « The Concept of 'Works of Law' », p. 147.

<sup>33</sup> Moyennant d'inévitables variations, on trouve de mêmes catalogues chez Bachmann, *Antijudaismus im Galaterbrief?*, p. 33-41 ; Martinus C. de Boer, *Galatians. A Commentary*, NTL 22, Louisville, KY, Westminster John Knox Press, 2011, p. 145-

1. De part et d'autre, c'est au cœur d'une dispute affectant la Torah et son interprétation que surgissent les « œuvres de la Loi », une dispute justifiant une prise de distance sur un plan sociologique<sup>34</sup>. En 4QMMT C 7, on lit en effet ceci : « [Vous savez que] nous nous sommes séparés de la foule du p[eu]ple et de toute leur impureté »<sup>35</sup>. Ce passage a régulièrement conduit les savants à rattacher le texte en question à « un groupe schismatique »<sup>36</sup>, inscrit en porte-à-faux avec le reste d'Israël (ou d'autres groupes juifs) en raison de leurs différentes prescriptions et pratiques<sup>37</sup> ; une position que certains nuancent toutefois<sup>38</sup>. À l'examen de Ga 2 maintenant, il appert que la critique paulinienne des « œuvres de la Loi » (3x en 2,16) vise en premier lieu les règles alimentaires réintroduites lors de l'incident d'Antioche, et cela en soutien d'un séparatisme rituel entre judéo- et pagano-chrétiens (2,12)<sup>39</sup>.

148 ; Dunn, *The New Perspective on Paul*, p. 333-339 ; Frey, « Das Judentum des Paulus », p. 60-62 ; Jean-Sébastien Rey, « Les manuscrits de la Mer morte et l'épître aux Galates : quelques cas d'interdiscursivité », in *The Dead Sea Scrolls and Pauline Literature*, éd. par Jean-Sébastien Rey, Studies on the Text of the Desert of Judah 102, Leiden / Boston, MA, Brill, 2014, p. 17-49, p. 35-37.

<sup>34</sup> Rey, « Les manuscrits de la Mer morte et l'épître aux Galates », p. 35.

<sup>35</sup> Dans l'ensemble de notre étude, nous reproduisons, sauf indication contraire, la traduction du texte de 4QMMT donnée par Katell Berthelot dans « A propos de quelques œuvres de la Loi (4QMMT) », p. 652-687. Le texte de 4QMMT proposé et traduit par Berthelot dans *La Bibliothèque de Qumrân 3a* se base, essentiellement, sur celui recomposé et édité par Elisha Qimron et John Strugnell, en consultation avec Yaacov Sussmann, et avec des contributions de Yaacov Sussmann et Ada Yardeni dans Qimron, *Qumrân Cave 4.V*. Précisément, s'agissant des extraits traduits par Berthelot que nous citons dans cette étude, ils ne s'écartent pas du texte reconstruit et édité dans DJD 10.

<sup>36</sup> Berthelot, dans « A propos de quelques œuvres de la Loi (4QMMT) », p. 679 n. 1.

<sup>37</sup> Ici et ce qui suit, avec : Berthelot, dans « A propos de quelques œuvres de la Loi (4QMMT) », p. 647-648 et p. 679 n. 1.

<sup>38</sup> Par ex. : Hanne von Weissenberg, *4QMMT. Reevaluating the Text, the Function, and the Meaning of the Epilogue*, Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah 82, Leiden / Boston, MA, Brill, 2009, p. 201-203 (ibid., p. 203 : « The group behind 4QMMT does ... appear to have partly different norms and practices from some other Jewish groups, as stated in the halakhic section, and this created a need to take some distance to the wrong practices »).

<sup>39</sup> Ainsi : Dunn, *The New Perspective on Paul*, p. 334.



2. Chez Paul comme à Qumrân, l'*observance* de ces « œuvres » n'est pas à dissocier de leur *prescription* ; leur *mise en pratique* en constitue, peut-être même, la sémantique dominante<sup>40</sup>. En effet, non seulement le terme *ma'aseh* désigne, dans son acception première, une « œuvre » ou un « acte »<sup>41</sup>, mais c'est probablement là aussi le sens que lui reconnaît (sans exclusive) le document 4QMMT<sup>42</sup> :

« 23 et le [...Souvi]ens-toi des rois d'Israël[l] et médite leurs œuvres : quiconque parmi eux 24 craignait [... la Lo]i était sauvé[ ]des épreuves. Et ce sont eux les « cher[ch]eurs de la Loi », 25 dont les péchés [étaient ô]tés. Souviens-toi [de] David, qui était un homme pieux [et] (qui) par conséquent 26 fut [s]auvé de nombreuses épreuves, et à qui il fut pardonné. Et nous t'avons aussi écrit 27 (à propos de) quelques œuvres de la Loi que nous avons estimé être pour ton bien et (pour celui de) ton peuple. » (C 23-27).

Et de conclure, de même<sup>43</sup> :

« Examine toutes ces choses et implore-Le de corriger 29 ton conseil et d'éloigner de toi (toute) pensée mauvaise et (tout) conseil de Bélial, 30 afin que tu te réjouisses à la fin du temps fixé, en te rendant compte que quelques-unes de nos prescriptions sont correctes. 31 Et cela te sera imputé comme (un acte de) justice, car tu feras ce qui est droit et bon devant Lui, pour ton bien 32 et pour (celui d')Israël. » (C 28-32).

En Ga 3,1-14 semblablement, Paul associe le malheur auquel exposent les « œuvres de la Loi » à la sémantique de l'agir (3,10b : τοῦ

<sup>40</sup> Avec de Boer, *Galatians*, p. 145-146.

<sup>41</sup> Helmer Ringgren, « עשה », *TDOT* 11, 2001, p. 387-403, en particulier p. 399-403.

<sup>42</sup> Avec de Boer, *Galatians*, p. 146 ou Berthelot dans « A propos de quelques œuvres de la Loi (4QMMT) », p. 655 n. 2 (ibid. : « Il s'agit d'œuvres à accomplir, de comportements à adopter, et non de préceptes. Mais ces œuvres correspondent à l'enseignement de la Loi, et donc à une halakha particulière ») et p. 687 n. 4.

<sup>43</sup> Ainsi, à ce propos : Doering, « 4QMMT and the Letters of Paul », p. 76 : « In MMT ... what is reckoned as righteousness is a particular *behaviour* of the addressee » (l'auteur souligne).

ποιῆσαι αὐτά ; 3,12b : ὁ ποιήσας αὐτά ; cf. 5,3)<sup>44</sup>—et cela, par opposition à l'isotopie de la réception ou de l'accueil (3,1.5 : ἀκοή ; 3,2 : ἐλάβετε ; 3,4 : ἐπάθετε ; 3,6 : ἐπίστευσεν ; 3,14 : λάβωμεν)<sup>45</sup>. Une dualité qui reprend, en termes expérientiels<sup>46</sup>, une opposition entre Dieu et l'humain située au fondement de l'argumentation paulinienne depuis le seuil d'entrée de Galates (1,1.10-12 ; etc.)<sup>47</sup>. L'isotopie sémantique de l'agir sur laquelle s'alignent les « œuvres de la Loi » se reconnaît également dans l'écrit aux Romains, Paul déclarant en 2,14 : ὅταν γὰρ ἔθνη τὰ μὴ νόμον ἔχοντα φύσει τὰ τοῦ νόμου ποιῶσιν, avant d'ajouter au verset suivant : οἵτινες ἐνδείκνυνται τὸ ἔργον τοῦ νόμου γραπτὸν ἐν ταῖς καρδίαις αὐτῶν<sup>48</sup>.

3. Enfin, de part et d'autre, l'observance des « œuvres de la Loi » se voit soumise à un verdict eschatologique : c'est là la conviction lue

<sup>44</sup> Avec de Boer, *Galatians*, p. 146.

<sup>45</sup> Ici et après, voir Simon Buttica, « 'Qui vous a ensorcelés ?' (Ga 3,1). Les adversaires de Paul en Asie Mineure : lecture en miroir de la lettre aux Galates », in *Les judaïsmes dans tous leurs états aux Ier-IIIe siècles (les Judéens des synagogues, les chrétiens et les rabbins)*, éd. par Claire Clivaz et al., Turnhout, Brepols Publishers, 2015, p. 201-219, en particulier p. 210.

<sup>46</sup> Avec Oda Wischmeyer, « Wie kommt Abraham in den Galaterbrief? Ueberlegungen zu Gal 3,6-29 », in *Umstrittener Galaterbrief. Studien zur Situierung und Theologie des Paulus-Schreibens*, éd. par Michael Bachmann, Bernd Kollmann, Biblisch-theologische Studien 106, Neukirchen-Vluyn, Neukirchener Theologie, 2010, p. 119-163, en particulier p. 132-133.

<sup>47</sup> James L. Martyn, *Galatians. A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary*, AB 33A, New York, NY, et al., Doubleday, 1997, p. 250-252, p. 260-263, p. 287, entreprend, lui aussi, d'aligner les « œuvres de la Loi » sur la dualité sémantique qui infiltre le passage et prolonge l'antithèse Dieu – humain installée en amont (en 1,1.11-12 ; 2,16) ; il ne perçoit toutefois pas que l'opposition en jeu en 3,1-14 n'est pas l'agir (apocalyptique) de Dieu versus l'activité (autonome) de l'humain, mais plutôt la foi-confiance par opposition à tout agir qualifiant adossé aux systèmes mondains de valeurs (ici, la Torah comme instance de validation de l'existence). Avec John M. G. Barclay, *Paul and the Gift*, Grand Rapids, MI / Cambridge, Eerdmans, 2015, p. 373-375, p. 390.

<sup>48</sup> Avec Puech, « Les œuvres de la Loi », p. 144-145. Dans tout l'article, nous citons le texte grec du Nouveau Testament selon l'édition critique de Barbara Aland et al., éd., *Novum Testamentum Graece*, Stuttgart, Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 2012<sup>28</sup> (disponible en ligne sur le site de la *Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft* : <http://www.nestle-aland.com/en/read-na28-online/> ; dernier accès : le 3 mars 2019).

non seulement en 4QMMT C 30-31 (« de sorte que tu te réjouisses à la fin des temps, en trouvant quelques-uns de nos dires être fondés et cela te sera compté comme justice »)<sup>49</sup>, mais probablement aussi partagée par les prédicateurs actifs en Galatie (cf. 2,16c ou 5,4)<sup>50</sup>.

Ces parentés notées, c'est à questionner le sens et la portée que reçoit la critique des « œuvres de la Loi » chez Paul que nous voulons désormais nous atteler. Comme le déclare Jörg Frey dans une récente étude—reprenant à son compte une formule de Samuel Sandmel—le dossier Paul et Qumrân ne peut se résumer à une « parallélogramme »<sup>51</sup>, soit un inventaire mécanique ou statistique de tous les parallèles possibles et imaginables<sup>52</sup>. Il convient conjointe-

<sup>49</sup> Ici, nous citons 4QMMT C 30-31 conformément au texte et à la traduction lus chez Rey, « Les manuscrits de la Mer morte et l'épître aux Galates », p. 47 (italliques originaux ; cf. *ibid.*, p. 36) et suivons son commentaire où il renvoie à Gn 15,6 (*ibid.*, p. 47) ; pour 4QMMT C 30-31, Rey suit à cet endroit (*ibid.*, p. 47)—moyennant quelques aménagements—le texte édité et traduit du manuscrit 4Q398 14-17 ii 6-7 qu'Émile Puech propose dans Émile Puech, « L'épilogue de 4QMMT revisité », in *A Teacher for All Generations*, éd. par Erich F. Mason et al., Leiden / Boston, MA, Brill, 2012, 1 : 309-339, en particulier p. 315-318, soit : « 6 de sorte que tu te réjouisses à la fin du(/es) temps, en trouvant quelques uns de nos dires (être) fondés ; 7 et cela te sera compté comme justice » (*ibid.*, p. 318). Pour notre propos d'ensemble, voir Puech, « Les œuvres de la Loi », p. 146-150 ; De Roo, « The Concept of 'Works of Law' », p. 145-146.

<sup>50</sup> Avec Hans Dieter Betz, *Galatians. A Commentary on Paul's Letter to the Church in Galatia*, Hermeneia, Philadelphia, PA, Fortress Press, 1979, p. 116-117 ; Michael F. Bird, « Justification as Forensic Declaration and Covenant Membership. A Via Media Between Reformed and Revisionist Readings of Paul », *TynBul* 57, 2006, p. 109-130 ; de Boer, *Galatians*, p. 141-156, p. 314-315 ; Simon Buttica, « La lettre aux Galates : de la théologie de la croix à la justification par la foi ? », *RTP* 149, 2017, p. 323-340, surtout p. 334-339 ; De Roo, « The Concept of 'Works of Law' », p. 145-147. Voir aussi : Nicholas T. Wright, « 4QMMT and Paul: Justification, 'Works', and Eschatology », in *History and Exegesis*, éd. par Sang-Won (Aaron) Son, New York, NY / London, T&T Clark, 2006, p. 104-132. Merci à George Brooke pour cette référence.

<sup>51</sup> Samuel Sandmel, « Parallelomania », *JBL* 81, 1962, p. 1-13.

<sup>52</sup> Jörg Frey, « Paul's View of the Spirit in the Light of Qumran », in *The Dead Sea Scrolls and Pauline Literature*, éd. par Jean-Sébastien Rey, *Studies on the Text of the Desert of Judah* 102, 2014, Leiden / Boston, MA, Brill, 2014, p. 237-260, en particulier p. 237-248.

ment d'interroger, à la lumière de son propre contexte de communication, l'usage (le sens et la finalité) qu'en fait l'apôtre<sup>53</sup>. En d'autres termes, en quoi les controverses affrontées par Paul, sur les « œuvres » notamment, s'inscrivent-elles en continuité et/ou en décalage avec les débats attestés ailleurs dans le judaïsme du second Temple<sup>54</sup> ?

## 2.1 Galates et la critique des « œuvres de la Loi »

Commençons par retracer le contexte de communication dans lequel s'énonce, initialement, le combat paulinien contre les « œuvres de la Loi » (Ga 2,16 [3x] ; 3,2.5.10). C'est à Ed Parish Sanders que revient le mérite d'avoir exhumé la portée socio-identitaire de la joute engagée en Galatie entre l'apôtre et les Églises de sa fondation<sup>55</sup> : bien loin de dénoncer un retour à la Loi comme norme du salut, c'est une problématique sociologique, catalysée par l'intervention de prédicateurs de la circoncision et interrogeant les conditions d'entrée dans le peuple de Dieu, qui attisait alors la discorde<sup>56</sup>. En clair : les missionnaires surgis dans les communautés galates ont probablement brandi la Loi de Moïse—comprise comme un don de Dieu—en condition *sine qua non* d'une intégration à l'alliance d'Israël, Paul leur opposant la foi comme critère d'appartenance<sup>57</sup>. Un scénario qu'est venu affiner John Barclay dans sa thèse de doctorat : si la pratique participe à la construction sociale et au maintien d'une identité, alors le *way of life* des croyants d'origine non-juive fait partie intégrante du conflit opposant Paul

<sup>53</sup> Ainsi : Lindemann, « Christusglaube », p. 243. Ici et après, avec Doering, « 4QMMT and the Letters of Paul », p. 72-79.

<sup>54</sup> Avec Frey, « Paul's View of the Spirit », p. 237-242.

<sup>55</sup> Ed P. Sanders, *Paul, The Law and the Jewish People*, Philadelphia, PA, Fortress Press, 1983, p. 18-19.

<sup>56</sup> Avec Sanders, *Paul*, p. 18.

<sup>57</sup> Voir Jörg Frey, « Galaterbrief », in *Paulus. Leben – Umwelt – Werk – Briefe*, 2<sup>e</sup> éd., éd. par Oda Wischmeyer, Tübingen / Basel, Francke Verlag, 2012, p. 232-256, en particulier p. 247-249.

aux évangélistes judéo-chrétiens actifs en Galatie<sup>58</sup>. Pour ces missionnaires, la pratique sociale doit, elle aussi, se conformer à la Torah, renforçant l'identité neuve des croyants en Jésus (*enjeu socio-identitaire*) et signifiant ainsi leur appartenance au peuple que Dieu justifiera à la fin des temps (*enjeu sotériologique-eschatologique*)<sup>59</sup>.

Partant, James Dunn semble voir juste en rattachant l'émergence du discours paulinien sur les « œuvres de la Loi » à une joute questionnant les frontières du peuple de la fin<sup>60</sup>. On peut même supposer que, derrière le propos lu en Ga 2,16 ou 5,4—deux passages reliant la Loi/les « œuvres de la Loi » à la justification—, c'est l'Évangile proclamé par les missionnaires de Galatie qui se donne à connaître<sup>61</sup> : à leurs yeux, l'adhésion messianique ne ravit pas toute fonction à la Torah, à son observance en particulier, cette dernière favorisant le rattachement et le maintien des croyants en Jésus dans le peuple que Dieu viendra justifier à l'*eschaton*<sup>62</sup>. C'est dire si le syntagme ἔργα νόμου n'est probablement pas une création paulinienne, mais la reprise polémique d'une formule usitée ailleurs dans le judaïsme du second Temple, que ce soit à Qumrân ou dans la prédication des missionnaires surgis en Galatie<sup>63</sup> ; c'est dire, aussi, qu'elle n'avait pas au tournant de l'ère commune une acceptation strictement négative, désignant à l'inverse un comportement

<sup>58</sup> Voir John M. G. Barclay, *Obedying the Truth. A Study of Paul's Ethics in Galatians*, Edinburgh, T&T Clark, 1988, p. 70-74 et *passim*.

<sup>59</sup> Cf. Simon Buttica, « « La foi agissant par l'amour » (Galates 5,6). Justification par la foi et parénèse du jugement dans la lettre aux Galates », *Bib* 98, 2017, p. 91-111. Avec Barclay, *Obedying the Truth*, p. 70-74 et *passim* ; Barclay, *Paul and the Gift*, p. 331-446 ; Bird, « Justification as Forensic Declaration », p. 109-130 et désormais Buttica, *La crise galate*.

<sup>60</sup> Dunn, « Paul et la Torah », p. 242-249 ; Dunn, *The New Perspective on Paul*, p. 111-130. Pour l'évaluation de la recherche et nos choix interprétatifs, nous renvoyons aussi à Vollenweider, « Paul entre exégèse et histoire de la réception », p. 451-452.

<sup>61</sup> Avec de Boer, *Galatians*, surtout p. 143-145, p. 314-315 ; Buttica, « La lettre aux Galates », p. 334-339.

<sup>62</sup> Avec Bird, « Justification as Forensic Declaration », p. 109-130.

<sup>63</sup> Semblablement, ici et pour la fin du paragraphe : Martyn, *Galatians*, p. 260-263 ; Rey, « Les manuscrits de la Mer morte et l'épître aux Galates », p. 35-37 ; avec certaines nuances, aussi Doering, « 4QMMT and the Letters of Paul », p. 72-79.

social conformé à l'obéissance légale et en attente de justification<sup>64</sup>. Là encore, les missionnaires actifs dans les communautés galates semblent puiser au même réservoir que le groupe à qui s'adresse le document 4QMMT.

Maintenant, que les « œuvres de la Loi » assument dans l'Évangile des missionnaires surgis en Galatie un rôle social, renforçant les contours d'une identité commune que Dieu validera à l'*eschaton*, ne revient pas encore à dire que la réplique de Paul ne ferait que décalquer, en négative, l'argumentaire et le cadre de compréhension de ses contradicteurs<sup>65</sup>. C'est, au contraire, avec un travail de réinterprétation qu'il faut compter en Galates, l'apôtre identifiant dans cette fronde socio-identitaire un enjeu plus fondamental—*de nature théo-anthropologique*—, interrogeant le rapport de l'humain à son Dieu et le soumettant à une axiologie (pour faire court : le code antique de l'honneur) incompatible avec l'« Évangile du Christ » (Ga 1,6-7)<sup>66</sup>. En témoigne, déjà, l'opposition qui configure le propos de Paul d'une extrémité à l'autre de sa missive<sup>67</sup> : son argumentation n'est pas dictée par la dualité « circoncision » vs « incirconcision » (5,6 ou 6,15), encore moins par l'opposition entre l'Église et la Synagogue, mais s'ordonne à une antithèse plus radicale, contrastant Dieu et l'humain (1,1.10-12 ; 2,16 ; etc.), respectivement la « nouvelle création » (6,15) et le « monde présent mauvais » (1,4 ;

<sup>64</sup> Voir Martyn, *Galatians*, p. 262.

<sup>65</sup> Ici et après, nous suivons : James L. Martyn, « Events in Galatia: Modified Covenantal Nomism versus God's Invasion of the Cosmos in the Singular Gospel: A Response to J.D.G. Dunn and B.R. Gaventa », in *Thessalonians, Philippians, Galatians, Philemon*, vol. 1 de *Pauline Theology*, éd. par Jouette M. Bassler, Minneapolis, MN, Fortress Press, 1991, p. 160-179. Voir aussi : Schnelle, *Paulus*, p. 302-307 ; Lindemann, « Christusglaube », surtout p. 244-246 ; Buttica, *La crise galate*.

<sup>66</sup> Vollenweider, « Paul entre exégèse et histoire de la réception », p. 451-452 ; Barclay, *Paul and the Gift*, p. 331-446 ; Simon Buttica, « Paul et la culture antique de l'honneur. Contexte et enjeux de la justification par la foi dans la *Lettre aux Galates* », *Annali di storia dell'esegesi* 33, 2016, p. 107-128 ; Buttica, *La crise galate*.

<sup>67</sup> À ce sujet, voir : Simon Buttica, « Vers une anthropologie universelle ? La crise galate : fragile gestion de l'ethnicité juive », *NTS* 61/4, 2015, p. 505-524 ; Simon Buttica, « 'Ceux du Christ' : l'identité collective des Galates entre exclusivisme christologique et inclusivisme éthique », in *Paul et son Seigneur. Trajectoires christologiques des épîtres pauliniennes*, éd. par Christophe Rimbault, LD 271, Paris, Cerf, 2018, p. 169-204.

cf. 6,14)<sup>68</sup>. Et c'est dans ce cadre précis que l'apôtre s'engage à recycler les « œuvres de la Loi » inhérentes à l'argumentaire de ses opposants, devenant sous sa plume le chiffre *mondain* de tout principe qualifiant<sup>69</sup> incompatible avec le « don inconditionné » (*unconditioned gift*) advenu *en Jésus Christ*<sup>70</sup>.

Trois arguments (parmi d'autres) nous permettent de vérifier cette hypothèse<sup>71</sup> :

1. Ga 2,16 surgit, il est vrai, dans la foulée d'un incident qui a mis en jeu la commensalité unissant les premiers croyants en Jésus, les chrétiens d'Antioche rétablissant, à l'instigation de Pierre, des règles de table comme norme d'appartenance à l'*ekklésia* (2,11-14)<sup>72</sup>. Cela dit, face à ce péril ecclésiologique, Paul ne se contente pas de broser les contours d'une nouvelle identité ecclésiale que fonderait la foi. Au contraire, Juifs comme non-Juifs, deux catégories sociales opposées dans une perspective juive (2,15), sont toutes deux réunies par l'apôtre à l'enseigne de grandeurs anthropologiques, à la fois inclusives (2,16 : ἄνθρωπος) et universelles (2,16 :

<sup>68</sup> Cela a été défendu par James L. Martyn, « Apocalyptic Antinomies in Paul's Letter to the Galatians », *NTS* 31, 1985, p. 410-424 ; James L. Martyn, *Galatians*, surtout p. 94-95, p. 136-151, p. 565, p. 570-574. À sa suite (par ordre chronologique) : Beverly R. Gaventa, « The Singularity of the Gospel. A Reading of Galatians », in *Thessalonians, Philippians, Galatians, Philemon*, vol. 1 de *Pauline Theology*, éd. par Jouette M. Bassler, Minneapolis, MN, Fortress Press, 1991, p. 147-159 ; Bruce W. Longenecker, *The Triumph of Abraham's God. The Transformation of Identity in Galatians*, Edinburgh, T&T Clark, 1998, surtout p. 35-67 ; François Vouga, *An die Galater*, HNT 10, Tübingen, Mohr Siebeck, 1998, surtout p. 5-9, p. 25-28, p. 155-158 ; de Boer, *Galatians*, p. 75-96, p. 402-403 ; Barclay, *Paul and the Gift*, p. 331-446 ; Buttica, *La crise galate*.

<sup>69</sup> Avec Barclay, *Paul and the Gift*, p. 383.

<sup>70</sup> Barclay, *Paul and the Gift*, p. 393, p. 397 (trad. fr. SB pour l'expression entre guillemets dont l'original anglais cité se lit à ces mêmes pages). À sa suite : Buttica, *La crise galate*, surtout p. 134-136 n. 78.

<sup>71</sup> Cf. aussi : Lindemann, « Christusglaube », p. 234-262.

<sup>72</sup> Ici et dans ce qui suit, avec Barclay, *Paul and the Gift*, p. 362-387 ; Schnelle, *Paulus*, p. 302-307 ; Michael Wolter, *Paulus. Ein Grundriss seiner Theologie*, Neukirchen-Vluyn, Neukirchener, 2011, p. 350, p. 404-411. Désormais, aussi : Buttica, *La crise galate*, p. 122-151.

πᾶσα σάρξ)<sup>73</sup>. En d'autres termes<sup>74</sup> : pour Paul, l'enjeu en Ga 2 n'est pas simplement le statut socioreligieux des incirconcis face au peuple d'Israël, mais la situation de « toute chair » face à Dieu ! Dans cette perspective, Juifs et non-Juifs sont *semblablement* « pécheurs » (cf. οὐκ ἔξ ἔθνῶν ἁμαρτωλοί en 2,15 et εὐρέθημεν καὶ αὐτοὶ ἁμαρτωλοί en 2,17) et appelés à la foi pour espérer échapper à la colère du Dieu Juge (2,16b)<sup>75</sup>. C'est dire si, dans ce cadre théo-anthropologique où le fondement de l'être est questionné<sup>76</sup>, « [t]o consider 'the works of the Law' the criterion of worth (i.e., 'righteousness') is to assume the validity of a symbolic capital that has been shown to count for nothing before God », comme le résume Barclay<sup>77</sup>.

2. Plus loin dans la lettre, en Ga 5,16-18, Paul risque une audacieuse équation entre la « Loi » et la « chair », enrôlant la Torah de Moïse aux côtés de la σάρξ dans son combat contre l'Esprit<sup>78</sup>. Ce rapprochement est encore renforcé par la parenté langagière existant entre les ἔργα νόμου et les ἔργα τῆς σαρκός de 5,19<sup>79</sup>. Dans le monde de représentations construit par l'apôtre, les « œuvres de la Loi » échouent ainsi au même rang que la « chair » et ses « œuvres » (5,19-21), une catégorie qui résume, pour Paul, toute autorité qualifiante susceptible de construire la valeur de l'humain face au Créateur (cf. Ga 6,12-13)<sup>80</sup>.

<sup>73</sup> Avec Schnelle, *Paulus*, p. 302-303 ; Wolter, *Paulus*, p. 350, p. 404-411.

<sup>74</sup> Ici et ci-dessous, nous rejoignons Günter Klein, « Individualgeschichte und Weltgeschichte bei Paulus. Eine Interpretation ihres Verhältnisses im Galaterbrief », in Günter Klein, *Rekonstruktion und Interpretation. Gesammelte Aufsätze zum Neuen Testament*, BEvT 50, München, Kaiser, 1969, p. 180-224.

<sup>75</sup> Avec Schnelle, *Paulus*, p. 303.

<sup>76</sup> Comme le pointe avec raison Lutz Doering, la particule ἐκ/ἐξ (+ génitif) désignant l'origine est propre à la compréhension que Paul développe des « œuvres de la Loi » et en manifeste un enjeu : Doering, « 4QMMT and the Letters of Paul », p. 77-78. Cf. aussi Schnelle, *Paulus*, p. 302-304, p. 307.

<sup>77</sup> Barclay, *Paul and the Gift*, p. 383 ; en parlant ici de « symbolic capital », Barclay s'adosse explicitement à une expression chère à l'anthropologie (ibid., p. 383) et empruntée à Pierre Bourdieu (ibid., p. 469).

<sup>78</sup> À ce sujet, désormais : Buttica, *La crise galate*, p. 265-276.

<sup>79</sup> Cf. Buttica, « 'Qui vous a ensorcelés ?' (Ga 3,1) », p. 211-212 ; Buttica, *La crise galate*, p. 275-276.

<sup>80</sup> Voir en détail Barclay, *Paul and the Gift*, p. 425-428, p. 432-434.



3. Enfin, nous pouvons contrôler l'élargissement sémantique que Paul fait subir aux « œuvres de la Loi » à l'examen de Romains<sup>81</sup>. Rencontrée à deux reprises au chapitre 3 (vv. 20.28), cette catégorie surgit au terme d'une argumentation de trois chapitres qui a établi la situation de péché dans laquelle se trouvent non seulement les non-Juifs (1,18-32), mais les Juifs également (2,1-3,8)<sup>82</sup>. En un mot : l'humanité entière considérée du point de vue d'Israël (3,9-20), une humanité que Paul peut récapituler sous le terme indifférencié de κόσμος en 3,19<sup>83</sup>. Bref, tout comme en Ga 2,15-16, les « œuvres de la Loi » surgissent au moment de caractériser l'humain quel qu'il soit (Rm 3,28 : ἄνθρωπον ; cf. Ga 2,16a)<sup>84</sup>, « toute chair » (Rm 3,20 : πᾶσα σὰρξ ; cf. Ga 2,16c) dans son erreur, et non pour qualifier le seul peuple élu, la différence ethnico-salutaire entre Juifs et non-Juifs ayant été suspendue au regard du péché (Rm 3,9 ; cf. Ga 2,15.17) comme de la foi (Rm 3,29-30 ; cf. Ga 2,16)<sup>85</sup>.

## 2.2 La critique des « œuvres » dans les Pastorales<sup>86</sup>

Si Galates et Romains semblent traduire une herméneutique anthropologique des « œuvres », et cela au-delà de leur seule dimension socio-identitaire, qu'en est-il des réceptions pauliniennes que

<sup>81</sup> Voir aussi Wolter, *Paulus*, p. 378-379.

<sup>82</sup> Schnelle, *Paulus*, p. 342-348. Ici et après, aussi : Michael Wolter, *Der Brief an die Römer. Teilband I: Röm 1-8*, EKKNT 6, Neukirchen-Vluyn, Neukirchener Verlag, 2014, p. 69, p. 133-223.

<sup>83</sup> Avec Wolter, *Der Brief an die Römer*, p. 232.

<sup>84</sup> Cf. Klein, « Individualgeschichte », p. 183.

<sup>85</sup> Avec Wolter, *Der Brief an die Römer*, p. 232-233, p. 270.

<sup>86</sup> L'étiquette « Pastorales » regroupe, depuis le 18<sup>ème</sup> siècle, les deux épîtres à Timothée et celle à Tite (à ce sujet : Ceslas Spicq, *Les Épîtres Pastorales*, EBib 25, Paris, Gabalda, 1947, p. xxi ; Yann Redalié, « Les épîtres pastorales (1 et 2 Timothée ; Tite) », in *Introduction au Nouveau Testament. Son histoire, son écriture, sa théologie*, 4<sup>e</sup> éd., éd. par Daniel Marguerat, MdB 41, Genève, Labor et Fides, 2008, p. 329-348, en particulier p. 329), non sans susciter des débats, d'aucuns appelant une prise au sérieux de leur diversité interne. Ainsi, par ex. : Luke T. Johnson, *The First and Second Letters to Timothy. A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary*, AB 35A, New York, NY, Doubleday, 2001, p. 63-64.

travaille une forte pluralité<sup>87</sup> : la critique des « œuvres » s'y lit-elle ? Si oui, quel en est le cadre de réception ? Sociologique, anthropologique ou autre ? Et à quelles « œuvres », précisément, a-t-on affaire ? Pour répondre à ces questions, nous déterminerons, premièrement, en quoi les Pastorales peuvent être comprises comme des réceptions de Paul. Deux approches, parmi d'autres, se prêtent à cet examen : l'« histoire des effets » (*Wirkungsgeschichte*) et les théories sur la mémoire sociale<sup>88</sup>. Après quoi, nous nous intéresserons au sort réservé dans les Pastorales à la critique paulinienne des « œuvres ».

### 2.3 Les Pastorales : une réception de troisième génération

C'est à Hans-Georg Gadamer qu'est emprunté le concept de *Wirkungsgeschichte* tel qu'il est aujourd'hui utilisé en exégèse<sup>89</sup>. Dans

<sup>87</sup> Notre perspective dans cette étude rejoint Vollenweider, « Paul entre exégèse et histoire de la réception », p. 441-459 ; Lindemann, *Paulus im ältesten Christentum*, surtout p. 134-149 ; Lindemann, « Christusglaube », p. 234-262 ; Luz, « Rechtfertigung bei den Paulusschülern », p. 365-383 et Thomas, *Paul's Works of the Law* ».

<sup>88</sup> Le lien entre les deux méthodes s'inspire de la contribution de Markus Bockmuehl, « New Testament *Wirkungsgeschichte* and the Early Christian Appeal to Living Memory », in *Memory in the Bible and Antiquity*, éd. par Loren T. Stuckenbruck et al., WUNT 212, Tübingen, Mohr Siebeck, 2007, p. 341-368 ; voir, à sa suite : Thomas, *Paul's Works of the Law* », en particulier p. 4-10 (il s'adosse précisément à Markus Bockmuehl, *Seeing the Word: Refocusing New Testament Study*, Grand Rapids, MI, Baker Academic, 2006 ; Markus Bockmuehl, *The Remembered Peter*, WUNT 262, Tübingen, Mohr Siebeck, 2010 ; Markus Bockmuehl, *Simon Peter in Scripture and Memory*, Grand Rapids, MI, Baker Academic, 2012).

<sup>89</sup> Pour l'attribution de cet héritage à Gadamer, cf. Heikki Räisänen, « Die Wirkungsgeschichte der Bibel. Eine Herausforderung für die exegetische Forschung », *EvT* 52, 1992, p. 337-347, p. 337 ; Régis Burnet, « Pour une *Wirkungsgeschichte* des lieux : l'exemple de Haceldama », *NTS* 29, 2013, p. 129-141, p. 129 et surtout Ulrich Luz, *Theologische Hermeneutik des neuen Testaments*, Neukirchen-Vluyn, Neukirchener, 2014, p. 362-372, p. 397-409. Pour Gadamer lui-même, l'on se reportera à Hans-Georg Gadamer, *Vérité et Méthode*, trad. Étienne Sacre (révisée par Paul Ricoeur), revue et complétée par Pierre Fruchon, Jean Grondin et Gilbert Merlio, Paris, Seuil, 2018 [1996], p. 481-492 (édition originale : *Gesammelte Werke. Hermeneutik I. Wahrheit und Methode*, Tübingen, Mohr Siebeck, 1990, p. 305-

un usage devenu commun, il est question en francophonie d'« histoire des effets » ou d'« histoire de la réception »<sup>90</sup>. À partir des années 1980, Ulrich Luz va s'en faire le promoteur dans les études néotestamentaires<sup>91</sup>. Un intérêt exégétique que Susan Gillingham situe dans l'attention à l'itinéraire que parcourt un texte (biblique) au fil de sa réception<sup>92</sup>. En effet : ses diverses interprétations informent l'exégète non seulement sur la fortune du texte dans des contextes pluriels de réception, mais aussi sur les potentialités herméneutiques qui lui ont été ainsi reconnues<sup>93</sup>. À l'emploi de la « *Wirkungsgeschichte* », c'est donc l'impact posthume de la critique paulinienne des « œuvres » que nous souhaitons examiner dans cette étude, approchant ces réceptions comme autant de lieux susceptibles de nous renseigner (en partie, du moins) sur les débats menés par Paul à propos des « œuvres de la Loi »<sup>94</sup>.

312). Luz précise néanmoins que Gadamer n'avait pas pour ambition, avec la « *Wirkungsgeschichte* », de créer une nouvelle discipline indépendante : Luz, *Theologische Hermeneutik*, p. 361, p. 399.

<sup>90</sup> Exemples : Burnet, « Pour une *Wirkungsgeschichte* des lieux », p. 129, retient pour le terme *Wirkungsgeschichte* la traduction d'« histoire de la réception », alors que Michel Berder lui préfère celle d'« histoire des effets » (Michel Berder, « Chantiers exégétiques actuels sur Saint Paul », *Transversalités* 114, avril-juin 2010, p. 13-30, p. 29). Dans Gadamer, *Vérité et Méthode*, p. 481-492, c'est la traduction « histoire de l'action » ou « histoire de l'influence » qui est donnée.

<sup>91</sup> Luz, *Theologische Hermeneutik*, p. 360-361, en retient la définition suivante : « Ich verstehe unter *Wirkungsgeschichte* ... das Gesamte der Spuren, welche ein Text in seiner Nachgeschichte durch seine Lektüren hinterlassen hat, und zwar in allen Bereichen des Lebens, also z.B. in der Theologie, in der Kunst, in der Politik, im Recht, in der Frömmigkeit, in der Literatur, in der Philosophie usw. » (italiques originaux). Voir précédemment : Ulrich Luz, *Das Evangelium nach Matthäus (Mt 1-7)*, 5<sup>e</sup> éd., EKKNT 1, Neukirchen-Vluyn / Einsiedeln / Zürich, Neukirchener Verlag / Benziger, 2002, p. 106-114.

<sup>92</sup> Susan Gillingham, « Biblical Studies on Holiday? A Personal View of Reception History », in *Reception History and Biblical Studies*, éd. par Emma England et William J. Lyons, Scriptural Traces 6, London / New York, NY, T&T Clark, 2015, p. 17-30, p. 20-21.

<sup>93</sup> Ainsi : Vollenweider, « Paul entre exégèse et histoire de la réception », p. 456-459 ; Thomas, *Paul's « Works of the Law »*, p. 4-10.

<sup>94</sup> Avec Vollenweider, « Paul entre exégèse et histoire de la réception », p. 441-459 et Thomas, *Paul's « Works of the Law »*. Voir aussi : Luz, « Rechtfertigung bei den Paulusschülern », p. 365-383.

De même, les études intéressées à la mémoire sociale et situées dans le sillage de Maurice Halbwachs<sup>95</sup> et de Jan Assmann<sup>96</sup> permettent d'appréhender les modalités et les contextes au gré desquels la critique des « œuvres » a été reçue<sup>97</sup>. Ces travaux partagent, en particulier, deux convictions :

1. à titre rétrospectif, le message des apôtres (ici, Paul) est « réactualisé » dans et pour des situations différentes ;
2. créatives, ces reprises n'en sont pas moins conditionnées par le passé que représente « Paul » (sa personne et son œuvre)<sup>98</sup>.

<sup>95</sup> Maurice Halbwachs, *Les cadres sociaux de la mémoire*, Paris, Albin Michel, 2001.

<sup>96</sup> Jan Assmann, *La mémoire culturelle : écriture, souvenir et imaginaire politique dans les civilisations antiques*, trad. Diane Meur, Paris, Aubier, 2010. Cf. aussi : Barry Schwartz, *Abraham Lincoln and the Forge of National Memory*, Chicago, IL, University of Chicago Press, 2000.

<sup>97</sup> Pour ces études, voir notamment : Jean-Daniel Kaestli, « Mémoire et pseudépigraphe dans le christianisme de l'âge post-apostolique », *RTP* 43, 1993, p. 41-63 ; Enrico Norelli, « La notion de 'mémoire' nous aide-t-elle à mieux comprendre la formation du canon du Nouveau Testament ? » in *Le canon des Écritures dans les traditions juive et chrétienne*, éd. par Philip S. Alexander et Jean-Daniel Kaestli, Publications de l'Institut romand des sciences bibliques 4, Prahins, Zèbre, 2007, p. 169-206 ; Benjamin L. White, *Remembering Paul. Ancient and Modern Contests over the Image of the Apostle*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2014 ; Simon Buttica, « The Construction of Apostolic Memories in the Light of Two New Testament Pseudepigrapha (2 Tm and 2 Pt) », *Annali di storia dell'esegesi* 33, 2016, p. 341-363 ; Thomas, *Paul's « Works of the Law »* ; Luc Bulundwe Lévy, « Ethics and Pseudepigraphy – Do the Ends Always Justify the Means ? », *Athens Journal of Humanities and Arts* 6/4, 2018, p. 323-344. Pour d'autres contributions récentes, portant aussi sur les épîtres pseudépigraphes, voir Simon Buttica et Enrico Norelli, éd., *Memory and Memories in Early Christianity*, WUNT 398, Tübingen, Mohr Siebeck, 2018. Pour l'état de la question : Chris Keith, « Social Memory Theory and Gospels Research: The First Decade (Part One) », *Early Christianity* 6, 2015, p. 354-376 ; Chris Keith, « Social Memory Theory and Gospels Research: The First Decade (Part Two) », *Early Christianity* 6, 2015, p. 517-542. Pour l'articulation entre la « *Wirkungsgeschichte* » et les travaux sur la mémoire (sociale), voir : Bockmuehl, « New Testament *Wirkungsgeschichte* », p. 341-368 ; Thomas, *Paul's « Works of the Law »*.

<sup>98</sup> Voir aussi David G. Meade, *Pseudonymity and Canon. An Investigation into the Relationship of Authorship and Authority in Jewish and Earliest Christian Tradition*, WUNT 39, Tübingen, Mohr Siebeck, 1986. Pour Meade, la pseudépigraphe est une manière d'actualiser la tradition (ibid., p. 215-218 ; cf. aussi, ibid., p. 192 : « The reproduction of this 'pattern' of revelation and tradition, coupled with the strong

C'est au cœur des Églises de sa fondation, avec la lecture de ses propres lettres, que commencent les réceptions de Paul, un processus que la diffusion et la collection de ses écrits ainsi que la production de pseudépigraphes suivent de près<sup>99</sup>. Comme dans la grande majorité des études récentes, notre contribution considère les Pastorales au sein de cette production pseudépigraphique et les appréhende comme un corpus<sup>100</sup>. En termes socio-historiques, les Pastorales reflètent un cercle paulinien de troisième génération (cf. 2 Tm 1,5 ; 2 Tm 2,2)<sup>101</sup>. Au sein du corpus paulinien en effet, six lettres sont tenues pour pseudépigraphes et témoins de différents

personalization of the kerygmatic traditions in ... Paul's minist[ry] made it possible for the authors of Pastorals ... to address the pressing needs of their communities by *Vergegenwärtigung* or a new actualization of authoritative ... Pauline traditions. »). Pour Régis Burnet, « Pourquoi écrire sous le nom d'un autre ? Hypothèses sur le phénomène de la pseudépigraphie néotestamentaire », *ETR* 88, 2013, p. 475-495, p. 489, Meade part de l'herméneutique de Gadamer et plus précisément de son concept d'« actualisation » (*Vergegenwärtigung* ; trad. fr. Burnet) ainsi que des recherches de Josef Zmijewski, « Apostolische Paradosis und Pseudepigraphie im Neuen Testament. Durch Erinnerung wachhalten (2 Petr 1,13-3,1) », *BZ* 23, 1979, p. 161-171.

<sup>99</sup> À ce sujet, voir les études réunies dans *Receptions of Paul in Early Christianity. The Person of Paul and His Writings Through the Eyes of His Early Interpreters*, éd. par Jens Schröter, Simon Buttica et Andreas Dettwiler, en collaboration avec Clarissa Paul, BZNW 234, Berlin, de Gruyter, 2018.

<sup>100</sup> Depuis le milieu du 18<sup>e</sup> siècle, l'histoire de la recherche a vu naître un consensus sur la lecture en corpus des Pastorales et leur nature pseudépigraphique (cf. Michel Gourgues, *Les deux lettres à Timothée. La lettre à Tite*, Commentaire biblique : Nouveau Testament 14, Paris, Cerf, 2009, p. 44). Une minorité d'exégètes dénonce un biais méthodologique qui consiste à étendre des remarques vraies pour l'une d'entre elles aux autres Pastorales (cf. Jens Herzer, « Fiktion oder Täuschung? Zur Diskussion über die Pseudepigraphie der Pastoralbriefe », in *Pseudepigraphie und Verfasserfiktion in frühchristlichen Briefen*, éd. par Jörg Frey et al., WUNT 246, Tübingen, Mohr Siebeck, 2009, p. 489-536, p. 489).

<sup>101</sup> À ce sujet, en détail : Redalié, « Les épîtres pastorales », p. 329-348, en particulier p. 334-339.

stades de réception<sup>102</sup> : elles traduisent la pluralité du « paulinisme »<sup>103</sup> après la mort de l'apôtre<sup>104</sup>. Engagées dans des controverses autour de la mémoire du Tarsiate, les Pastorales représentent un courant soucieux de « fixer, orienter, actualiser les significations des textes pauliniens de référence »<sup>105</sup> ; précisément, les

<sup>102</sup> Pour ces six lettres, voir Jens Schröter, Simon Buttica et Andreas Dettwiler, « Introduction », in *Receptions of Paul in Early Christianity. The Person of Paul and His Writings Through the Eyes of His Early Interpreters*, éd. par Jens Schröter, Simon Buttica et Andreas Dettwiler, en collaboration avec Clarissa Paul, BZNW 234, Berlin, de Gruyter, 2018, p. 3-22, p. 8-9.

<sup>103</sup> Sur l'histoire de cette catégorie et le sens à lui donner aujourd'hui dans une volonté de valoriser comme telles (sans jugements de valeurs dépréciatifs) les réceptions de Paul, voir Lindemann, *Paulus im ältesten Christentum*, p. 1-10 ; Paul-Gerhard Müller, « Der 'Paulinismus' in der Apostelgeschichte. Ein forschungsgeschichtlicher Überblick », in *Paulus in den neutestamentlichen Spätschriften. Zur Paulusrezeption im Neuen Testament*, éd. par Karl Kertelge, QD 89, Freiburg, Herder, 1981, p. 157-201.

<sup>104</sup> Avec Andreas Dettwiler, « L'école paulinienne », in *Paul, une théologie en construction*, éd. par Andreas Dettwiler, Jean-Daniel Kaestli et Daniel Marguerat, MdB 51, Genève, Labor et Fides, 2004, p. 419-440 ; Vollenweider, « Paul entre exégèse et histoire de la réception », p. 454-456.

<sup>105</sup> Yann Redalié, « Le rôle de la figure de Paul dans la théologie des épîtres pastorales », RB 115, 2008, p. 596-612, p. 600. Redalié présente ainsi les hypothèses d'Annette Merz selon qui les Pastorales revendiquent le mot de la fin dans un contexte de concurrence entre plusieurs gestions interprétatives de l'héritage paulinien (Annette Merz, *Die fiktive Selbstausslegung des Paulus. Intertextuelle Studien zur Intention und Rezeption der Pastoralbriefe*, NTOA / SUNT 52, Göttingen, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2004).

Pastorales s'efforcent d'inscrire les écrits de Paul dans une tradition paulinienne circonscrite<sup>106</sup>. Un processus que semble accompagner un phénomène d'institutionnalisation ecclésiale<sup>107</sup>. Cette construction *a posteriori*<sup>108</sup> d'une certaine théologie paulinienne aurait ainsi pour vocation de codifier « la » réception de Paul à adopter<sup>109</sup>. C'est dans ce contexte que nous souhaitons examiner le traitement réservé à la critique paulinienne des « œuvres », sans réduire les Pastorales à une simple comparaison avec une prétendue « norme » proto-paulinienne<sup>110</sup>.

<sup>106</sup> Concernant le développement d'une tradition paulinienne dans et grâce aux Pastorales, peuvent être mentionnées—moyennant certaines différences entre elles—les études de : Norbert Brox, *Die Pastoralbriefe*, RNT 7/2, 4<sup>e</sup> éd., Regensburg, Pustet, 1969 ; Werner Stenger, « Timotheus und Titus als literarische Gestalten. Beobachtungen zur Form und Funktion der Pastoralbriefe », *Kairos* 16, 1974, p. 252-267 et, surtout, Peter Trummer, *Die Paulustradition der Pastoralbriefe*, BBET 8, Frankfurt / Bern / Las Vegas, Peter Lang, 1978 ainsi que Michael Wolter, *Die Pastoralbriefe als Paulustradition*, FRLANT 146, Göttingen, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1988. À la suite de Brox et de Trummer, cf. Merz, *Die fiktive Selbstausslegung des Paulus*.

<sup>107</sup> Michael Wolter, « Die Entwicklung des paulinischen Christentums von einer Bekehrungsreligion zu einer Traditionsreligion », *Early Christianity* 1, 2010, p. 15-40, décrit et analyse ce glissement, en parlant du passage d'une « religion de conversion » (*Bekehrungsreligion*) vers une « religion de tradition » (*Traditionsreligion*) (ibid., p. 15 ; trad. fr. LB).

<sup>108</sup> Sur la construction d'un héritage paulinien *a posteriori*, voir Luc Bulundwe, « 2 Timothy 4:6-8 as Paradigm of the Apostle Paul's Legacy », *Athens Journal of Social Sciences* 4, 2017, p. 413-422, p. 414.418.

<sup>109</sup> Cf. Merz, *Die fiktive Selbstausslegung des Paulus*.

<sup>110</sup> Avec Lindemann, *Paulus im ältesten Christentum*, p. 3 et, à sa suite, Karl Löning, « 'Gerechtfertigt durch seine Gnade' (Tt 3,7). Zum Problem der Paulusrezeption in der Soteriologie der Pastoralbriefe », in *Der lebendige Gott. Studien zur Theologie des Neuen Testaments*, éd. par Thomas Söding NTAbh 31, Münster, Aschendorff, 1996, p. 241-257, surtout p. 250-251, avec la note 24.

## 2.4 Les Pastorales et la critique paulinienne des « œuvres »

Les passages à verser au dossier de la critique des « œuvres » dans les Pastorales sont 2 Tm 1,9 et Tt 3,5. Les deux péricopes sont à rapprocher pour des raisons thématiques et lexicales<sup>111</sup>. Michael Theobald situe les deux extraits (Tt 3,4-7 et 2 Tm 1,8-10) au cœur de la « *Wirkungsgeschichte* » de la doctrine paulinienne de la justification<sup>112</sup> ; précisément, comme l'écrit Michel Gourgues, les deux versets (2 Tm 1,9 et Tt 3,5) peuvent être inscrits dans un cadre sotériologique proche de la littérature paulinienne tant du point de vue « de la pensée, du style [que] du vocabulaire »<sup>113</sup>. 2 Tm 1,9 se laisse traduire ainsi, parlant de Dieu (cf. v. 8) : « [L]ui qui nous a sauvés et appelés par un appel saint, non selon nos œuvres (τὰ ἔργα ἡμῶν) mais selon son propre dessein et sa grâce, laquelle nous a été donnée en Christ Jésus avant des temps éternels ». Dans cet « hymne des Pastorales »<sup>114</sup>, le motif du salut—fruit de la grâce divine et non

<sup>111</sup> Romano Penna, « Philanthropy of God and Human Works in Titus 3,4-7 and in 2 Timothy 1,9-10 », in *2 Timothy and Titus Reconsidered*, éd. par Reimund Bieringer, Monographische Reihe von Benedictina 20, Leuven, Peeters, 2018, p. 181-192, p. 182. Voir aussi : Gourgues, *Les deux lettres à Timothée*, p. 392-393.

<sup>112</sup> Michael Theobald, *Israel-Vergessenheit in den Pastoralbriefen. Ein neuer Vorschlag zu ihrer historisch-theologischen Verortung im 2. Jahrhundert n. Chr. unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der Ignatius-Briefe*, SBS 229, Stuttgart, Katholisches Bibelwerk, 2016, p. 78. Voir aussi Löning, « 'Gerechtfertigt durch seine Gnade' (Tt 3,7) », p. 247-257.

<sup>113</sup> Gourgues, *Les deux lettres à Timothée*, p. 260. Voir aussi : Udo Schnelle, *Einleitung in das Neues Testament*, 3<sup>e</sup> éd., UTB 1830, Göttingen, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1999, p. 359 : « Tit 3, 3-7; 2Tim 1,8-10 geben präzise den Sachgehalt der paulinischen Rechtfertigungslehre wieder: Allein aus Gnade ohne Werke des Gesetzes rechtfertigt Gott den Menschen (vgl. Gal 2, 16; Röm 3, 21ff.) » ; Michael Wolter, « Der Apostel und sein Schüler: 2 Timotheus 1,1-18 », in *2 Timothy and Titus Reconsidered*, éd. par Reimund Bieringer, Monographische Reihe von Benedictina 20, Leuven, Peeters, 2018, p. 17-37, p. 33.

<sup>114</sup> Raymond F. Collins, *1 & 2 Timothy and Titus. A Commentary*, NTL, Louisville, KY, Westminster J. Knox Press, 2002, p. 199, parle de « Pastor's theological hymn » pour les vv. 9 et 10.



des « œuvres »—est typique de Paul. En Tt 3,5, le cadre sotériologique est plus évident encore (cf. σωτήρ en Tt 3,4,6)<sup>115</sup> : « [C]e n'est pas par des œuvres que, dans la justice, nous aurions accomplies nous-mêmes (οὐκ ἐξ ἔργων τῶν ἐν δικαιοσύνῃ ἃ ἐποιήσαμεν ἡμεῖς) mais selon sa miséricorde qu'il nous a sauvés (ἔσωσεν ἡμᾶς) à travers le bain de renaissance et à travers le renouvellement par l'Esprit Saint. » À quoi s'ajoute l'expression « par des œuvres », construite avec la préposition ἐκ/ἐξ (+ génitif) ; là aussi, les parentés lexicales avec diverses formules de Paul sont étroites (Rm 3,20 ; 4,2 ; etc. ; Ga 2,16)<sup>116</sup>. Ces composantes sotériologiques inscrivent les deux versets dans une continuité manifeste avec la littérature dite « proto-paulinienne »<sup>117</sup>. Regardons cela en détail.

#### 2.4.1 La critique des « œuvres » : points de contact

Dans les deux textes, les Pastorales situent la critique des « œuvres » dans un cadre théo-logique : Dieu, en Christ, pose un acte salvifique qui ne peut être substitué par aucun agir humain, même effectué « dans la justice » (Tt 3,5). Alfons Weiser souligne l'ancrage juif-vétérotestamentaire (Jos 14,26 ; 25,1 ; voir aussi 1 QS

<sup>115</sup> La plupart des exégètes souligne le lien avec le baptême, notamment : Alfons Weiser, *Der zweite Brief an Timotheus*, EKKNT 16, Neukirchen-Vluyn / Düsseldorf / Zürich, Neukirchener Verlag, 2003, p. 118, qui établit aussi un lien avec 2 Tm 1,9-10 comme formule baptismale ; Samuel Bénétreau, *Les épîtres pastorales. 1 et 2 Timothée, Tite*, Commentaire Evangélique de la Bible 26, Vaux-sur-Seine, Édifac, 2008, p. 338 ; Jens Herzer, « Titus 3,1-15: Gottes Menschenfreundlichkeit und die ethische Relevanz christlicher Hoffnung », in *2 Timothy and Titus Reconsidered*, éd. par Reimund Bieringer, Monographische Reihe von Benedictina 20, Leuven, Peeters, 2018, p. 133-179, p. 142.

<sup>116</sup> Avec Gourgues, *Les deux lettres à Timothée*, p. 392.

<sup>117</sup> Gourgues, *Les deux lettres à Timothée*, met l'accent sur le salut dans les deux péripécies en intitulant 2 Tm 1,9-10 la « proclamation du salut » (ibid., p. 255) et Tt 3,3-7 « la manifestation du salut de Dieu » (ibid., p. 391). Sur les distinctions entre lettres « proto- », « deutéro- » et « trito-pauliniennes », voir François Vouga, « Le corpus paulinien », in *Introduction au Nouveau Testament. Son histoire, son écriture, sa théologie*, 4<sup>e</sup> éd., éd. par Daniel Marguerat, MdB 41, Genève, Labor et Fides, 2008, p. 161-178, p. 163-165.

2,22) et proto-paulinien (cf. Rm 8,28 et 9,11) de ce *topos*<sup>118</sup>. Pour Wolter<sup>119</sup> et Penna<sup>120</sup>, le propos lu en 2 Tm 1,9 et en Tt 3,5 va néanmoins au-delà de la pensée de Paul, pour qui le salut était un motif essentiellement eschatologique-futur (cf. Rm 5,9.10 ; 8,24 ; 13,11b), sans pour autant que l'auteur des Pastorales n'adopte dès lors une perception présentéiste de la résurrection (cf. 2 Tm 2,18)<sup>121</sup>.

Ce n'est pas tout : non seulement les Pastorales semblent inscrire la sémantique des « œuvres » dans un cadre *théo-anthropologique* semblable à celui de Galates et de Romains, mais surtout elles lient son sens à l'isotopie de l'*agir* humain (Tt 3,5 : οὐκ ἐξ ἔργων τῶν ἐν δικαιοσύνῃ ἃ ἐποιήσαμεν ἡμεῖς). Se confirme là aussi, au moins indirectement, notre lecture de la critique proto-paulinienne des « œuvres ». Ce travail de mémoire n'en demeure pas moins créatif, nous l'avons dit<sup>122</sup>. Voyons en quoi.

#### 2.4.2 La critique des « œuvres » : prises de distance

Un premier déplacement entre la doctrine paulinienne de la justification et celle des Pastorales concerne la disparition presque totale de références à la « foi » (πίστις) en lien avec le salut<sup>123</sup>. La « grâce » (2 Tm 1,9) ou la « miséricorde » (Tt 3,5) divines en sont, par là-même, accentuées<sup>124</sup>. Mais c'est dans l'omission du génitif

<sup>118</sup> Weiser, *Der zweite Brief an Timotheus*, p. 119.

<sup>119</sup> Wolter, « Der Apostel und sein Schüler », p. 33-36.

<sup>120</sup> Penna, « Philanthropy of God », p. 189.

<sup>121</sup> Avec Wolter, « Der Apostel und sein Schüler », p. 33-34.

<sup>122</sup> Selon Lindemann, « Christusglaube », p. 258 : « Weder die Argumentation noch gar die verwendete Begrifflichkeit sind im eigentlichen Sinne 'paulinisch'; aber der Autor hätte seine Aussage nicht in dieser Weise gemacht, wenn er sich nicht als in paulinischer Tradition stehend sähe ».

<sup>123</sup> Cf. Lindemann, *Paulus im ältesten Christentum*, p. 141-143 ; Lorenz Oberlinner, *Die Pastoralbriefe. Folge 2, Kommentar zum zweiten Timotheusbrief*, HThKNT 11/2, Freiburg im Breisgau / Basel / Wien, Herder, 1995, p. 39 ; Lorenz Oberlinner, *Die Pastoralbriefe. Folge 3, Kommentar zum Titusbrief*, HThKNT 11/2, Freiburg im Breisgau / Basel / Wien, Herder, 1996, p. 171 ; Penna, « Philanthropy of God », p. 189. Notons que 2 Tm 3,15 déroge à cette règle.

<sup>124</sup> Avec Penna, « Philanthropy of God », p. 188-189.

(de qualité) νόμου<sup>125</sup> après la formule ἐξ ἔργων que se situe l'écart principal entre Paul et les Pastorales ; il n'est plus question ni de la Loi d'Israël, ni de la distinction entre Juifs et non-Juifs (cf. Rm 3,22-24.28-29 ; Ga 2,15-16) : ce débat socio-identitaire, représenté par la crise galate, ne semble plus d'actualité à l'époque des Pastorales<sup>126</sup>. La doctrine de la justification est reprise, mais détachée de toute dimension socio-historique, dépourvue de perspective eschatologique<sup>127</sup> et réinvestie dans le cadre d'une problématique éthiquement large<sup>128</sup> ; la non-qualification des « œuvres » en 2 Tm 1,9 et la mention de la « justice » (ἐν δικαιοσύνῃ) en Tt 3,5 témoignent de cet infléchissement<sup>129</sup>. Chez Tite, le contraste est flagrant entre ces « œuvres » de justice, disqualifiées dans un contexte sotériologique, et la reprise positive des « œuvre[s] » dans le contexte littéraire adjacent (Tt 3,1[ἐργον ἀγαθόν].8[καλὰ ἔργα])<sup>130</sup>. Le régime est bien celui d'une réception *en différé*—à tendance « dogmatisante »—du discours paulinien<sup>131</sup>.

Dans ce nouveau contexte, plusieurs maigres indices pourraient rappeler le débat paulinien contre des courants judéo-chrétiens, en particulier chez Tite. Il est fait mention de la « circoncision » (περιτομῆς ; Tt 1,10), de « combats au sujet de la loi » (μάχαι

<sup>125</sup> Cf. Wolter, *Der Brief an die Römer*, p. 237.

<sup>126</sup> Avec Löning, « 'Gerechtfertigt durch seine Gnade' (Tt 3,7) », p. 241-257, surtout p. 248 ; Weiser, *Der zweite Brief an Timotheus*, p. 119 ; Theobald, *Israël-Vergessenheit*, p. 79 ; Wolter, « Der Apostel und sein Schüler », p. 36-37 ; Penna, « Philanthropy of God », p. 189-190.

<sup>127</sup> Voir Luz, « Rechtfertigung bei den Paulusschülern », p. 376-382.

<sup>128</sup> Avec Wolter, « Der Apostel und sein Schüler », p. 36-37.

<sup>129</sup> Selon Lindemann, « Christusglaube », p. 258, les ἔργα sont, dans les Pastorales, « was Christen tun soll ». Pour Yann Redalié, *Paul après Paul. Le temps, le salut, la morale selon les épîtres à Timothée et à Tite*, MdB 31, Genève, Labor et Fides, 1994, p. 223-224 : « Le vocabulaire lié à la justice s'est ethisé ». Pour l'ensemble, voir *ibid.*, p. 115-118, p. 216-227.

<sup>130</sup> Pour des mentions positives des « œuvres » dans les Pastorales : 1 Tm 2,10 ; 3,1 ; 5,10.25 ; 2 Tm 2,21 ; 3,17 ; Tt 1,16 ; 2,7.14 ; 3,1.8.14. Cf. Redalié, *Paul après Paul*, p. 115-118 ; Penna, « Philanthropy of God », p. 182, p. 189.

<sup>131</sup> Avec Gourgues, *Les deux lettres à Timothée*, p. 392 ; Lindemann, *Paulus im ältesten Christentum*, p. 142-143, p. 146-147 ; cf. Luz, « Rechtfertigung bei den Paulusschülern », p. 378 : « Wie Tit 3,3-7 macht er [2Tim 1,9-11] den Eindruck eines dogmatischen Exkurses ».

νομικάι ; Tt 3,9) et d'un « légiste » (τὸν νομικόν ; Tt 3,13). Pour Herzer, ces indices viseraient des Juifs ou judéo-chrétiens, adversaires présumés dans l'épître à Tite<sup>132</sup>. Avec Michel Gourgues, on peut concevoir que Tt 3,5, plus que 2 Tm 1,9, semble se rapprocher du débat socio-identitaire affronté chez Paul<sup>133</sup>. Malgré cela, « [l]e point de vue reste plus général et tout se passe comme si l'on était en présence d'une pensée paulinienne 'déjudaisée', ... dégagée d'une problématique juive, pour s'élargir à des croyants de toute provenance : le salut ne saurait découler des œuvres humaines, quelles qu'elles soient »<sup>134</sup>.

### 3. Reprise et conclusion

En guise de conclusion, risquons un bilan de notre enquête. En Galates nous l'avons vu, Paul semble identifier derrière les « œuvres de la loi » non seulement un enjeu socio-identitaire, donnant quittance à la *New Perspective on Paul*, mais surtout un mal plus radical, soit la tentation de l'« humain » quel qu'il soit (ἄνθρωπος) de soumettre son existence commune à des principes mondains de qualification, afin d'être justifié par Dieu. Dans cette perspective, Paul n'hésite pas à rapprocher les « œuvres de la loi » de celles de la « chair » (Ga 5,19-21), dans lesquelles se range pêle-mêle tout ce qui blesse la relation à Dieu et aux autres<sup>135</sup> ; en un mot : « the environment of all human agency untransformed by the Spirit—including life under the Torah, which was incapable of 'creating life' because of the power of the sin (Ga 3:21-22).... The Christ-gift, because it escapes and subverts the normal classification of reality, has created a new taxonomy. In a novel structure of polar opposites, God's action in Christ stands over against a constellation of

<sup>132</sup> Jens Herzer, « Juden – Christen – Gnostiker. Zur Gegnerproblematik der Pastoralbriefe », *BTZ* 25, 2008, p. 143-168, p. 147-154, p. 165-166. Herzer y voit ainsi une certaine continuité avec Paul (ibid., p. 166).

<sup>133</sup> Gourgues, *Les deux lettres à Timothée*, p. 392.

<sup>134</sup> Gourgues, *Les deux lettres à Timothée*, p. 392. Ce constat d'une pensée paulinienne « déjudaisée » rejoint celui de Theobald, *Israel-Vergessenheit*.

<sup>135</sup> Cf. Vouga, *An die Galater*, p. 135-138 ; Buttica, *La crise galate*, p. 265-276.

pre-established norms, which on any ordinary reading would appear categorically distinct », comme l'écrit John Barclay<sup>136</sup>.

Quid de la réception, dans les Pastorales, de cette polémique paulinienne ? L'analyse des « œuvres » a manifesté une double continuité : non seulement le contexte d'utilisation est le même que chez Paul (soit une relecture théo-anthropologique des « œuvres »), mais se reconnaît aussi son association à l'isotopie de l'agir humain. Se confirme ainsi, au regard des Pastorales, l'élargissement sémantique imprimé par Paul aux « œuvres (de la Loi) »<sup>137</sup>. Chez certains héritiers de l'apôtre, la critique des « œuvres » ne s'est donc pas limitée, comme l'exprime avec raison Samuel Vollenweider, « à signifier l'incorporation des païens au sein d'Israël »<sup>138</sup>, donnant tort à la *New Perspective on Paul*<sup>139</sup>. Cependant, l'absence de tout renvoi à la « foi » (πίστις) et à la « loi » (νόμος), dans les extraits étudiés, a permis de mesurer la distance que ces lettres instaurent face aux écrits du Tarsiate. Si elles perçoivent le sens *anthropologique* de la critique paulinienne des « œuvres », elles l'étendent au-delà de son lieu natif, la découplant de sa portée initiale qui était de combattre un réinvestissement de la Torah comme norme qualifiante vis-à-vis du Dieu d'Israël<sup>140</sup>. En clair : les Pastorales semblent réinscrire la critique paulinienne dans un nouveau contexte d'énonciation, instituant une forme de paulinisme-type, tout en revendiquant une parfaite continuité et fidélité avec Paul<sup>141</sup>.

<sup>136</sup> Barclay, *Paul and the Gift*, p. 426.

<sup>137</sup> Avec Vollenweider, « Paul entre exégèse et histoire de la réception », p. 450-452.

<sup>138</sup> Vollenweider, « Paul entre exégèse et histoire de la réception », p. 451 ; en note 29 de la même page, Vollenweider en veut pour preuve 2 Tm 1,9 et Tt 3,5,7 notamment.

<sup>139</sup> Avec Lindemann, « Christusglaube », p. 261-262 ; Vollenweider, « Paul entre exégèse et histoire de la réception », p. 451.

<sup>140</sup> Cf. Vollenweider, « Paul entre exégèse et histoire de la réception », p. 451.

<sup>141</sup> Avec Brevard S. Childs, *Biblical Theology of the Old and New Testaments. Theological Reflection on the Christian Bible*, Minneapolis, MN, Fortress Press, 1992, p. 500 ; Helmut Merkel, *Die Pastoralbriefe*, NTD 9, Göttingen / Zürich, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1991, p. 58-59 ; Merz, *Die fiktive Selbstausslegung des Paulus* ; Michael Wolter, *Die Pastoralbriefe als Paulustradition*, surtout p. 15-17. Pour ce déplacement intervenu dans la recherche récente, voir Redalié, *Paul après Paul*, p. 32-33.